The Sound of Liturgy

Theoretical Research on
the role of Sound in the Performance of Liturgy



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Preface

It is a real delight to be able to present this Master Thesis. By releasing this thesis, I complete the first part of a broader research project in the Field of Liturgical Studies. The remaining parts of the project are based on this part, which consists of theoretical research. Less than a year ago, I started this project head over heels. I did not have the faintest idea which subject to investigate at that time. Therefore, having been able to develop a complete research proposal and a Master Thesis, I now present my work with justifiable proud.

This thesis could not have been effected without the help of several people. I am sincerely thankful to my supervisor, professor Marcel Barnard, who has been supporting me from the beginning to start a research project. He has been of great help during the last year, especially in the search for a topic and the position of that topic in the field of Liturgical Studies. Our discussions have made a substantial contribution to the development I underwent, a process that would certainly have been less spectacular without him. I am looking forward to proceed with the remnant parts of this research project under his supervision.

I would like to thank the staff of the Graduate School. Professor Hijme Stoffels, who has been thinking along with the project from the beginning and supported me during this whole year. Thanks for drawing my attention to the immigrant churches. I would also like to thank dr. Eddy van der Borght, who has been very patient with me. He was never unwilling to answer my never-ending questions. Both of them have been a great help to me.

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Thanks to Theo Proeskie for assisting in the correction of this English thesis. The eyes of a skilled translator are indispensable in such a process. His suggestions tremendously improved the quality of this academic 'composition'!

Last but not least I would like to thank my mother, for her enormous support throughout this last year. She encouraged me to do what I thought was best, and financially enabled me to go my own way. She thinks it is a matter-of-course to do so, but I do not. I think she is an exceptional mum, and I feel greatly indebted to her.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 A true story

In the years of my adolescence, I was seeing a young man who belonged to an orthodox segment of the Dutch Reformed Church. We courted for a little longer than a year. During that time, I used to go to church with him and his family on occasion. However, coming home from these Sunday worship services, I invariably felt depressed. The cause of my blues had not much to do with the doctrines preached by their minister. Surely, these doctrines were different from ours – my family belonged to the Lutheran Church, where hell and original sin received much less emphasis – but that did not seem to be a matter of concern to me: not being intent on taking in the message anyway, all I did was trying to behave the way my in-laws expected me to. Neither were my feelings of dislike triggered by the sight of the other churchgoers, although many looked as if they had been sent up for punishment. It had to do with something else.

When my boyfriend asked me one time why I had stopped going to church with him and the family, I remarked that I had come to dislike his church simply because their service sounded bad to me. The singing was slow, with equal duration imparted to each note, and the organist was playing far too loud. The elder used a plaintive tone of voice in welcoming the congregation (which certainly did not make me feel glad that I had come!), the minister's style of delivery was never less than elevated and could rise to an aggressive pitch during the sermon. When the sermon was over, the flock produced a dejected coughing. I simply disliked the sound of their worship. It made me feel most uncomfortable, both physically and mentally. I just could not stand it any longer.

A couple of weeks later, his mother informed me that I would not be welcome to their house any longer and told me that she did not consider me a suitable match for her son. Eventually, my boyfriend and I split up. And although there were other factors that contributed to the parting of our ways, the fact that I chose not to attend their church any more, was more than he and his family could accept.

1.2 Research subject and motivation

This story actually reflects in a nutshell what this Master Thesis is about. It shows that sound plays an important part in our perception and appreciation of liturgy. Sound can make people feel at home (in both the literal and the figurative sense), but it can also make them feel uncomfortable or even turn them away from church. Moreover, the story shows that people attribute meanings to liturgy and its sound – meanings that are sometimes of crucial importance to believers. Also, it illustrates that sound is bound up with performance. Sound happens, it always implies action. Last but not least, the story suggests that different liturgies may have different sounds, which one way or the other correspond to different prevailing theologies within the celebrating church.

In this study we will be attempting to determine the role of sound in the performance of Christian worship. In the Netherlands, worship has, in recent decades, shown a development towards a larger variety of 'sounds'. These sounds differ in musical style and genre, loudness, instrumentation, tempo and rhythm. In liturgy, these sounds may be produced by quiet or

even silent prayer, or by spontaneous exclamations and calls for praise. Sometimes they involve body motions like rhythmic handclapping, swaying and dancing. It will be understood that the rise of the multicultural society and the process called 'globalization' have contributed to this variety in sound.

Technology has made the world smaller (and increasingly complex) during recent decades: instant telecommunication is available on a global scale, and we can travel to almost any part of the world within 24 hours. In addition, there is the increased accessibility of information provided by the internet.

Life in the 21st century European world is complex, layered, versatile and ambiguous (as will be discussed in more detail below), and the subject of our study reflects this complexity. In order to obtain a clear view of our research 'problem', we will need to investigate it from different angles. Therefore, in this Master Thesis, we will not only be describing the problem as a whole but also unravel and distinguish three of its crucial notions separately, namely: sound, performance and liturgy.

My personal motivation to choose this subject of research comes from a deep-seated interest in Christian liturgy and music. Since childhood I have always been intrigued by the proceedings in liturgy: in my experience liturgy was the celebration of a mystery. Also, since childhood, I have been involved in making music, which has given me the experience that music at times may evoke a comparable sense of mystery. Then, as now, it would seem to me that in some ways liturgy and music, have things in common.

The European post modern network society that I live in, is characterized by globalization. Globalization, in as far as it applies to music, means in concrete terms that an osmotic process is going on wherein music cultures influence each other. To give an example: European music, which used to be principally 'organized' on the basis of melody, is increasingly being influenced by the sound and structure of (African-)American music that is based on a strong *beat*. The ongoing process of globalization also influences liturgy. Many worship gatherings in communities that belong to the Protestant Church in the Netherlands, have been influenced by the liturgy as celebrated in evangelical and charismatic movements, which mainly originate from America. The singing of Geneva psalms and other hymns in these Dutch churches is being expanded with English-language 'praise and worship music'. Thus, it would seem that globalization influences not only music and liturgy, but also the sound of liturgy. I am interested to determine in what way(s) it achieves this.

1.3 A European scientific study

Something more is to be said in relation to the unravelling and relating of the notions of sound, performance and liturgy. An approach like ours, wherein these notions are combined, is quite new in the discipline of Liturgical Studies. To European scholars, the unravelling of notions may seem to be a standard way of investigating a problem. However, we need to be aware that this way of approaching a problem, bears the mark of European, indeed Western, scientific and post modern thinking. We need to look at this more closely now, since our approach will determine the outcome of our research.

The research that we do is marked by a dominant Western perspective. It is impossible – even for an academic – to shake off native backgrounds and traditions: these are factors that influence the way we think, experience the world and live. And as far as Western thinking is concerned: this is informed by modernistic notions such as an implicit belief in progress; the

power of human reason; the blessings of science; the ideal of total human self-determination in freedom and equality; the power to attribute meaning that great ideologies have, as comprehensive explanatory systems (De Dijn, quoted in LAMBERTS 1995, 149).

Western thinking exerts influence on Western scientific discourse, which is characterized by methodically led research and verifiable results. However, we immediately encounter a problem here. The modern features of Western scientific discourse, although rooted in Western thinking, are at the same time 'universal': science is always critical, traceable and verifiable. There certainly is a tension between these 'universal' and cultural characteristics.

We may discern another problem: shifts and hybrids, in the world, within cultures and in our perception of reality. Societies everywhere are changing, and some are facing globalization and ongoing westernization on a large scale (as, for example, is taking place in African cultures). Our Western perception of reality is also changing. No longer predominantly modern, it has shifted towards post modernism: our knowledge has become fragmentary, our explanations provisional, our power relative (LAMBERTS 1995, 149). This shift is reflected in the practice of science. By virtue of its roots in Enlightenment and the influence of modernism, science had developed strong analytical features, but today it seems to have become post critical and less analytical. Indeed, post modernism marks the very subject of the present study. In investigating the role of sound in the performance of liturgy it makes inquiry not into the *nature* or *being* thereof, but into its *meanings*. How does this relate to the scientific requirement that results should be critical, traceable and verifiable? The problem is clear, the answer is not. Incidentally, it is not only the practice of science that has changed, its meaning has changed as well: a considerable number of people now attribute little value to scientific research; they consider its results insignificant or at best questionable.

Back to the topic of this section: a European scientific study. One might consider this study an experiment wherein three different notions (sound, performance and liturgy) are brought together, in order to determine whether the combination of the three provides useful knowledge. This approach takes its cue from the fact that, in our everyday experience, we Europeans hardly conceive of these three notions as belonging together. In fact, we rarely experience a unity of life, if at all. Indeed, our perception of the self is essentially dualistic: we distinguish[1] between spirit and body. The fact is, though, that other cultures – particularly those of Africa, Latin America and the Carribean – do experience a unity of life and thus do experience the unity of the notions sound, performance and liturgy: their world view is, generally speaking, more holistic and dialectical. The traditional modern European white culture is, as has happened in the increasingly diverse culture of North America, loosing its dominance (REDMAN 2002, 105). Given this development, we should keep in mind that our European way of experiencing life and the world around us, notwithstanding its deep-seated roots, is just one of many possible ways. Although from a European perspective we might consider the three notions investigated in this study to be a coincidental selection of random phenomena, the notions of sound, performance and liturgy simply belong to a common domain and are mutually related. The story at the head of this chapter, is an illustration of this statement. We shall return to this matter in detail.

[1] The post modern emphasis on holism, which today – perhaps under the influence of other cultures – is occasionally in evidence, does not contradict, but rather confirms this. Such developments are to be seen as reactions on predominating views, which evoke the opposite.

1.4 Field of discipline

This research relates to the field of Liturgical Studies, where liturgy is the subject of research. By way of context for this study, it is important to consider how Liturgical Studies are being practiced nowadays. The fact is that the character of this field of research has changed during recent decades: there has been a shift towards the cultural-anthropological dimension of liturgy. Liturgical Studies have come to use other disciplines in order to investigate liturgy from a broader perspective. Therefore nowadays, more attention is being paid to, for example, the sociological, psychological, ethnological and ritual dimensions of liturgy. As a consequence, Liturgical Studies currently require multidisciplinary methods and call for a combination of insights gleaned from different disciplines.

The cause of the focus on cultural and anthropological dimensions of liturgy is explained by Marcel Barnard, in his inaugural address (BARNARD 2000, 5). He makes clear that there is a close connection between liturgy and culture: Barnard defines Liturgical Studies as 'the science of Christian rites and symbols', and goes on to remark that rites and symbols are not only essential to liturgy, but also have fundamental importance to culture. Because of this shared significance, liturgy and culture dynamically relate to one another. It is for this reason, Barnard says, that we should study Christian rites and symbols. But there is still another reason to do so: the protestant practice of Liturgical Studies has had a long-standing tradition of examining liturgies as bodies of texts and language only, without paying attention to the ritual and cultural perspectives and to the way people deal with contemporary ritual offerings (BARNARD 2000, 9). Liturgical Studies should take current trends in ritual and culture into account. A third reason for examining Christian ritual lies in the fact that European society and its churches now show an abundance of rituals and symbols. The serious crisis in ritual of the 1960s is definitely a thing of the past. The negative connotation of the word 'ritual' has gone, and the rediscovering of ritual's positive elements brought about an explosion of ritual in the 1990s. With this revaluation of (both human and religious) ritual, a new aspect manifested itself. The tendency towards individuality, which is part of modernity, has also affected the way rituality is experienced in post modernism: people are now dealing with ritual in their own individual way. Everyone is creating his/her own system of meaning, we are all 'like a spider in a unique web' (BARNARD 2000, 11). Rites and symbols are increasingly becoming an expression of the unique person we are, they have – so to say – become expressions of our own identity. Thus, in addition to reproducing meanings, we are also appropriating them. Moreover, we are not only appropriating them collectively, as groups, but also more and more individually. As a consequence, liturgy is no longer a system of unity, but has become a process of ongoing appropriation of meaning that reflects our (individual and group) identity. Like culture, liturgy becomes a meaning network that relates to and intersects with other meaning networks.

From Barnard's explanation we may infer why it is necessary to do research on the sound of liturgy. We consider the subject of our study – liturgy – to be a ritual. Therefore, we also have to take into account the context wherein the ritual is performed. Liturgy is always celebrated in a context, by a specific group of people, who have a specific cultural and liturgical identity, in a specific part of the world. So we cannot but take the anthropological dimension as a starting point of our research project.

1.5 Research question

This Master Thesis is the first part of a larger research project in the field of Liturgical Studies. The entire research project investigates the role of sound in the performance of liturgy as celebrated in three churches situated in Amsterdam Southeast, and also its theological implications for liturgy. The project consists of three parts: a theoretical part, an empirical part and a part which includes a scientific reflection on the empirical process. This reflection, in which theory and empirical data will be related to each other, will provide knowledge by which we shall be able to give a provisional answer to our research question. On the basis of this answer, our concepts will have to be re-adjusted and new questions shall rise.

The *area of interest* in this research project is liturgy as celebrated in a post modern, 21st century, European world. Since the larger project concentrates on two immigrant churches with African roots and one Dutch church with mainly Surinam members, we shall in our research focus on West European and African cultures (Surinam's population has partly descended from African slaves). When it comes to music we will also pay attention to the African-American culture, for two reasons. Firstly, as we said, because of Surinam's roots in African slave culture, in which music was very important. Secondly, because the African-American sound is the foundation of today's popular music, which is very important in European and Western culture at large and is, at the same time, the foundation of the music of the so-called 'Praise and Worship Movement' (the North-American liturgist Redman uses this concept as an umbrella term for evangelical, Pentecostal and charismatic churches, see REDMAN 2002, 22-46). The 'praise and worship' way of celebrating liturgy is often practiced by African communities in Amsterdam Southeast.

Our field of problem is a complex one. The world is changing, for example in the area of social and religious relationships: Africa will soon be the largest Christian continent in the world. A 'reversed mission' is being forecasted: migrants from the so-called 'developing world' will re-Christianize Europe. Migrants will make the largest group of Christians in Europe in the foreseeable future. (This is precisely why we chose to bring in immigrant churches into our larger project.) Meanwhile we have to take into account various original, often ancient cultural roots from different continents, and large-scale movements like Pentecostalism that influence the liturgy of immigrant churches on the European continent. The ongoing process of globalization – a process in which available goods and services, or social and cultural influences, gradually become similar in all parts of the world – is also contributing to this development. As a result, traditional, characteristic traits are being swapped for 'universal' features, while indigenous customs are adopting international practices. This process obscures our field of problem and makes the liturgical field complex, multilayered and ambiguous. We have to be aware of this fact and be cautious in drawing conclusions.

The *aim of the entire PhD project* is to develop a method that will enable us to describe, analyse and typify how sound contributes to the performance of liturgy. Thus, our goal is to make a valuable contribution to the anthropology of music (or sound) in Liturgical Studies. The *aim of this Master Thesis* is to lay the theoretical foundation of the larger project on the role of sound in the performance of liturgy and its implications for the theology of liturgy.

The *research question of the entire project* can be described as follows:

Which is the role of sound in the performance of liturgy as celebrated in the *Lutheran Church, location 'De Nieuwe Stad',* the *Maranatha Community Transformation Centre* and the *Celestial Church of Christ*, all situated in Amsterdam Southeast and what does that theologically imply for liturgy?

The *research question of this Master Thesis* can, on the basis of the preceding introduction and with an eye to the larger project, be formulated as follows:

"Which anthropological and theological aspects determine the role of sound in the performance of liturgy and in what ways do they achieve this?"

From this research question, several sub questions can be derived. These sub questions also set the structure of this Master Thesis:

1. What exactly is liturgy and which concepts appear to be important to the conception of liturgy in a post modern, 21st century, European society? (chapter 2)
2. What is performance and which performance aspects are important in liturgy? (chapter 3)
3. What is sound and which qualities of sound play a part in the performance of liturgy? (chapter 4)
4. How do the notions of sound, performance and liturgy together form a unity? (chapter 5)

1.6 Structure and method of research

As said, this Master Thesis is at the same time the theoretical part of our larger research project. This thesis will consist of literature research. In this phase we try to map our research field on the basis of the three above-mentioned and significant notions. We will focus on liturgy (understood as a Christian symbolic order), which is always related to a specific culture; on the performance of sound in liturgy, including important aspects playing a part in that (such as body language); on sound itself, in liturgy and in specific cultures. By means of this literature research, we shall be able to indicate important factors of sound in the performance of liturgy. This will provide a broad basis that enables us to formulate relevant questions at the beginning of the empirical part of our research project.

The Master Thesis shows the following *structure*:

This first chapter is an introduction to the topic of this research project and explains the set-up of the current Master Thesis. Here we will describe our research problem as a whole and attempt to show that sound, performance and liturgy are mutually related.

In chapter two, we start unfolding our problem and discuss the notion of liturgy. This chapter focuses on the theology of liturgy as well as on its anthropological characteristics, in a post modern 21st century European world. The anthropological characteristics are closely linked to culture, therefore we will bring forward the differences between European and African ways of celebrating liturgy (sub question one).

The third chapter will continue the process of unfolding and mentions performance aspects of sound and liturgy, such as body motions (and the interaction) of performers of sound (sub question two). In this chapter, we explicitly examine the differences in experiencing the world between Europeans and African people, which is basic to the different ways they perform liturgy.

In chapter four we search for aspects, or rather for qualities, of sound in the performance of liturgy. We try to indicate which different possible qualities can all together constitute sound (sub question three). This ranges from instrumentation to loudness of sound and from speech to elevated calls for praise and singing with gay abandon.

The last chapter of our theoretical research, chapter five, will again show how sound, performance and liturgy are mutually related and sum up which theological and anthropological aspects determine the role of sound in the performance of liturgy (sub question four).

As has been mentioned, the empirical part of our larger project will contain research on the performance of liturgy of three specific churches in Amsterdam Southeast. *Maranatha Community Transformation Centre* and the *Celestial Church of Christ* are both immigrant churches with an African background: the worship services of the first are attended by Africans of many different countries, the second church is a Nigerian community. The liturgy of the *Lutheran Church*, the only church in our project that originates from West Europe, is principally attended by Surinam people (80%). Most of these Surinam churchgoers are from (West) African origin. In our literature research, we shall have to take these African and African-American backgrounds into account. We shall pay attention not only to general theories on liturgy, performance and sound, but also to the cultural aspects of these notions. Chapters 2-4 will therefore all include information from African and European perspectives as well. In addition to this, chapter 4 also will be paying attention to African-American sound.

We hasten to add that, in fact, it is not really possible to speak of 'the African culture' or 'the European culture': these cultures are in some ways hybrid, and without exception they are diverse, complex and layered. It is possible though, to give a rough sketch of the common background of various African cultures. This also goes for the West European world, which has its main roots in Greco-Roman antiquity. Besides, the literature that is available on liturgy and performance, is pretty broad and does not always separately cover specific (sub)cultures. As far as the notion of sound is concerned (chapter 4), we were able to limit ourselves to the West African (the specific part of the sub-Saharan region, also known as 'Black African' or 'Africa proper') and African-American worlds. A large body of specific information on different musical traditions and cultural sound characteristics appeared to be available.

Our *method of research* is a multidisciplinary one. We shall have to collect theoretical information from various sources and, as we already mentioned above, make full use of different disciplines. This is inherent in the way Liturgical Studies are being practiced nowadays: they require a multidisciplinary method to investigate their subjects of research. Scholars in Liturgical Studies intensively use Ritual Studies, that include disciplines like anthropology, sociology, cultural studies, theatre and performance studies, semiotics, musicology, philosophy, psychology and so on.

Since the focus on sound and its role in the performance of liturgy is still an unexplored line of approach in Liturgical Studies, hardly any literature is available on the specific topic. The current research project will thus be a pioneer study with high explorative character. This pioneer character is a second reason for the choice to use a multidisciplinary method: since there is an uncharted field to discover, we must make it our task to paint a full picture of the topic, including all its different aspects, before any further detailed research can be done.

1.7 Relevance of the study

This study claims to contribute to the discussion of the issue on two levels. The first level is a scientific one: the study on the sound of liturgy contributes to the anthropology of Liturgical Studies. Such focus on sound is quite new in Liturgical Studies and as stated above, a lot of research has to be done, since an entirely new field is to be discovered.

The study on sound can be interesting not only on an academic level, but on a more practical level as well. It could help local churches to become conscious of the fact that music in liturgy is not limited to the singing of hymns taken from hymnbooks. A range of possibilities for liturgy appears when the notion of 'sound' is introduced (instead of the more limited term 'music'). Liturgy then will turn out to be a complex interplay of sound, rituals and performers.

1.8 Definition of terms

For a proper understanding of the concepts used in this study, we first need to describe certain crucial terms in our research more closely.

Liturgy is a term that stems from the Greek word *leitourgia*, meaning 'service'. After the New Testament Scriptures had come into being, 'liturgy' became the term the church used for worship gathering, in the sense of 'service to God and to people'. In the field of anthropology, several definitions of liturgy are current, which could all more or less be described as variations on a theme. Recurring and mutually connected terms are 'order', 'system', 'symbol(ic)' and 'rite' (BARNARD 2000, 5). In this Master Thesis we take liturgy as 'an order of Christian rites and symbols'.

Performance is a somewhat unclear notion (the use of this term is further examined in chapter three of this thesis). Although nowadays it is sometimes used to describe how well a deodorant/bank/car realizes its intended function, or to indicate the achievements of investment funds or speed skaters, the term originally points to presenting a play, a piece of text, a music piece et cetera. This is also how we take the concept: as 'the act of presenting something' (compare SCHILLEBEECKX 2000, 185-187).

Sound is in this project used as a term for vibrations that travel through air and that are perceived through the human sense of hearing or even – in case of loud sounds and low frequency sounds – by other parts of the human body through the sense of touch. The term sound covers a wide range: from speech to music, from weeping to the noise of body movement, from intended to unintended sound. *Music* is in this thesis understood as organized sound. It consists of musical movement, which always requires more than one tone (or sound) to relate to other tones (or sounds).

Furthermore, we need to elucidate four other terms that will be discussed in this study, where it concerns different cultural characteristics.

The term *European* in this thesis principally refers to the (North-)West of the European continent.

The notion *Western*, which is in our literature often used as opposite from *African*, includes both Europe, the United States of America, Canada and Australia. Western and European cultures are similar in some respects (post modern societies, for example), but they really do differ when it comes to their religious landscapes and musical traditions.

When *Africa* is mentioned, the entire continent is referred to. Speaking of *West Africa*, we talk about the west part of Sub-Saharan African, which includes the following countries: Mauritania, Senegal, Gambia, Mali, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Ivory Coast, Ghana, Upper Volta, Niger, Togo, Benin, Nigeria and Cameroon.

The term *African-American* points to cultures of black American citizens with ancestors who were imported, from Africa, as slaves to America. Many African-Americans have European, native American and/or Asian ancestors as well.

Chapter 2 Liturgy

2.1 Introduction

As has been described in the preceding chapter, we consider liturgy to be a ritual. This implies that in our view liturgy has an anthropological dimension, a subject which today is receiving a lot of attention in Liturgical Studies. In connection with the anthropological description of liturgy, the question could rise whether Christian rites and symbols can be said to have a defining identity. This question thus concerns the theology of liturgy. The first part of this second chapter discusses this defining identity of the Christian liturgy (2.2).

The anthropological dimension of liturgy implies that we have to take notice of the context in which the ritual is performed. Liturgy is always celebrated by a specific group of people, that has a specific cultural and liturgical identity. A determinant of this identity is, among other things, the way they experience life. Since the empirical part of our larger project contains research on the liturgy of (mainly) African communities in a European context, we shall in the second part of this chapter consider the main differences in the ways Africans and Europeans experience and know the world (2.3). Before we come to a short summary and some conclusions (2.4), we shall describe the concepts which appear to be important to the conception of liturgy in a post modern, 21st century, European society (first sub question).

2.2 A theology of liturgy

When liturgy is to be regarded as a system of rites and symbols, and is to be investigated from a cultural-anthropological perspective, the question could rise why our research project is considered to be a theological study. The fact that Liturgical Studies are part of the theological discipline, irrespective of the methods used, could be an answer to that question. Another answer could be that Christian liturgy itself is the subject of our study. This may all be true, but in the end the question remains how the *anthropology* and the *theology* of liturgy relate to each other.

This question is of course not new and has already been discussed by other theologians. In one of his recent books, the Roman catholic theologian Gerard Lukken deals with the issue. He presents several theologians, such as L. Lies, who formulates a balanced but secure answer to the problem:

> "Symbol is always an anthropological reality, while the sacrament is a theological reality which goes back to God, but which, however, does not lose its anthropological character." (Lies cited in LUKKEN 2005, 497).

The question is: is it possible to be more specific? According to Lukken, other theologians have reflected on the relation between anthropology and theology in liturgy in a more constructive way: Cornehl, Bieritz, Kohlshein, Neumann and Chauvet.

In search of an answer to the question, Lukken himself states that Christian ritual can penetrate our multiform culture deeply.

> "It has the characteristics of all ritual, including the ritual of our contemporary culture. It stands open to, and includes the shape of our culture. Through this openness to and rootage in contemporary culture it takes on a face which is recognisable for, and can be experienced by believers today. Christian ritual cannot retain its identity by jumping over culture. It is always incarnate in a particular culture. Therefore Christian ritual has a changing shape, and we in our culture are in search of a new shape for this ritual." (LUKKEN 2005, 524).

The fact that Christian rituals have their place and shape in the midst of all other rituals, doesn't mean that they don't have their own irreplaceable identity. Their identity is that of the paradox of the Easter mystery[2] as the radical revelation of God's love, of the new man as a pure gift. This is where God takes on a name, where his face lights up as the completely other. Lukken's answer is in line with Chauvet, who considers Christology as an interruption, a break, in the movement between anthropology and theology. Christology is seen as "the intersection, so to speak, of the ways from below to above and above to below" (Chauvet cited in LUKKEN 2005, 501).

Christology as an explanation of the own identity of Christian ritual is used by other theologians as well. Tex Sample, for instance, specifically concentrates on *incarnation* (as a detail of Christology) and applies it to the liturgy as celebrated in contemporary Western life. He claims that in worship incarnation is at stake: "when so-called 'traditional' churches are out of touch with the people who live around them, the problem is not that they are irrelevant, but that they not incarnational" (SAMPLE 1998, 105). He bases this on Scripture. Sample understands the text of John 1:14 (where it says "the Word became flesh and pitched tent with us") as God becoming flesh and joining the indigenous practices of the culture of Jesus' time. Incarnation thus involves, according to Sample, three things at least: the Word, becoming flesh and pitching tent. The absence of any of these three things, results in something less than incarnation.

The author considers worship as Word and consequently asks what it means for worship to be fleshly and to pitch tent with the people of an electronic culture. To be able to answer that question means to take into account that our flesh is encoded culturally and historically and that we are socially constructed. The influence of electronic culture on our flesh can be explained by three characteristics: 1) we engage the world through images, 2) sound is encoded in our beings (including our bodies!) as beat and 3) there is an ongoing process of visualization of sound. Since human nature (or, put in a biblical notion: human flesh) takes on different encodings, different organizations of the senses, different content in feelings, different forms of reason et cetera, the way in which God pitches tent with us, differs from one time to the other:

> "Every faithful attempt to be incarnational requires a kind of indigenous engagement. In the incarnation God pitches tent with us, tabernacles with us. Such engagement with the world is basic to the Christian faith." (SAMPLE 1998, 106)

[2] "*The* great paradox of Christianity is the Easter mystery. *The* short circuit with our anthropology, *the* theological moment, occurs where suffering and death prove to be a way to resurrection." (LUKKEN 2005, 517).

Sample also refers to the discussion about the anthropology and theology of liturgy, by adding that incarnation does not mean that God joins the human story and becomes part of it. Rather, incarnation is disclosure that the world is part of God's story. The task of liturgy is to understand our picture in terms of God's greater picture, instead of trying to get God into our picture. The church that fails to take the fleshliness of God's story (and the engagement with human practices that stems from that) with the utmost seriousness, is not incarnational. "For this reason the church will take seriously the fleshly uses of image, sound as beat and visualisation. The Word will take on embodiment in spectacle, performance, soul music and dance." (SAMPLE 1998, 106). Obviously, Sample applies a very cultural understanding of incarnation to his vision of liturgy.

Two documents of the Lutheran World Federation also point to the concept of incarnation, as the theological core business of liturgy: 'Worship and Culture in Dialogue' and 'Worship in African Contexts of Holism and Crisis'.

The first one claims that the incarnation of Christ of necessity took place within the confines of particular culture. Moreover, it says, the church itself is a body, "a continuing incarnation of Christ in the world" (STAUFFER 1994, 131). Therefore Christian worship is tightly bound up with culture. This looks simple and easy, but the relationship of the two certainly show complex dynamics between worship's forms and the various cultures in which congregations are or may be located. The document suggests to search the continuum between different sets of values in worship – values which include the universal and the particular, the global and the local, the historical and the temporary, and the "authentic" and the "relevant".

The second and more recent LWF document on worship and congregational life focuses on incarnation even more. Incarnation is considered as an umbrella term: the author of the study claims that an incarnational conception of liturgy goes beyond questions about worship's cultural 'shape'. To discuss matters of worship using paradigms like indigenization or contextualization, let alone inculturalization, is not satisfactory. "Worship is 'carnal' in the sense that, first and foremost, it is expressed by way of 'bodily things' such as history and culture." (KAKOMA 2005, 11) Kakoma explains this in emphatic terms, on the basis of worship in African contexts:

> " 'African' worship is necessarily dynamic, incorporating the entirety of creation's experience. As human beings our expressions of worship are informed and shaped by our environments – including that which is ecological, cultural, socio-political, historical and contemporary. To consider worship from an African perspective is to consider HIV/AIDS and the foreseeable extinction of many communities; it is to consider illiteracy and the lack of access to empowering resources; it is to consider environmental degradation and the calling to be stewards of creation; it is also to consider genocide and the role of the church in perpetuating divisive ideologies, not to mention death, life and the holistic acceptance of the sacredness of all creation. Moreover, to consider worship from an African perspective is to consider the human body in all of its abilities/disabilities – senses and movements – in actions not limited to the mind's capacity to reason." (KAKOMA 2005, 10)

Clearly, the incarnational conception of liturgy touches many of its fundamental dimensions.

According to Kakoma, incarnation is significantly different from inculturation: "When one speaks of an authentic liturgical expression, one speaks of a certain embodiment of a

context and not simply its 'culture'." (KAKOMA 2005, 12). We totally agree with the concept of incarnational liturgy as embodiment of a context, but Kakoma's distinction between incarnation and inculturation is questionable. Although the terms point to different concepts, they are each others opposite in a lesser degree than Kakoma wants them to be. His perception of culture is somewhat narrow: are HIV/AIDS, illiteracy, environmental degradation, genocide, the human body and – last but not least – the church not part of a culture? Why restrict inculturation to textual translations, historical traditions, linguistic theories and anthropological studies? Inculturation, like incarnation, does take a specific people, in a particular place, within a given experience of time into account. So the question is whether it is useful to the discussion on the inculturation of liturgy to say that

> "to speak solely of culture with regard to matters of worship is to perpetuate the impoverishment of the church as ethnic slums or social clubs, as opposed to being a sacramental presence of Christ's body in a fragile and broken world" (KAKOMA 2005, 12).

He is nevertheless right in asking the question what it means to be the body of Christ, as a tangible, fleshly body, including all the practical connective tissue and muscles of daily struggle.

The above-mentioned Lutheran, incarnational conception of liturgy, implies that liturgy is sacramental. In connection with this, we have to mention another important theologian here, who also considered liturgy to be sacramental. Gerardus van der Leeuw, a Dutch phenomenologist of religion who lived from 1890-1950, in one of his books presented his view of incarnation and its implications for liturgy.

Van der Leeuw relates theology to the arts. Kernel to his thoughts is the fact that we can imagine God in human shape, because God himself took this shape, because the Word became flesh (VAN DER LEEUW 1948, 337). It is because of the Image of God that Van der Leeuw comes to an arrangement of the arts in which he considers visual art, as an expression of our imagination, to be central. Thus, he considers the shape of Christ to be the principal of both arts and theology. However, they do not operate on the same level, since *Gestaltung* (formation or design) is an act by which God expresses himself, while human image or representation always has a groping character: our approach of the total different Other has something of an impossible possibility and therefore is ambivalent. Art and religion cross each others paths in the present, but will only eventually coincide in the eschaton (BARNARD 2004, 77). In our reality mankind keeps searching for God's image in forms of creation, because God revealed something of himself in Christ in the image of a human being. To put it in other words: in and behind the exterior world the believer is looking for an other reality, a power, the sacred, revelation. Thus, creation and art can get a sacramental character (BARNARD 2004, 78). Then liturgy – and this is of fundamental importance to our study –, when described as a portrayal of this human search, of this human imagination[3], is also sacramental: it is a form in which the encounter with the Eternal One takes shape. Still the sacramental is eschatological, Van der Leeuw calls it 'visible invisible reality' (VAN DER LEEUW 1948, 338). It stays in-between, the portrayal remains moving between on the one

[3] The paraphrase of this definition is my own. The original comes from dr. N.A. Schuman, who takes liturgy as 'uitbeelding van de verbeelding' (compare http://www.vervoorn.nl/schuman/liturgie_onderweg.html).

hand the risk of completion of the image, the autonomy of the portrayed and idolatry, on the other hand the risk of erasure of the image, the dissolving of the contours into the All or Nothing of mysticism (VAN DER LEEUW 1948, 252). This 'visible invisible reality' also applies to liturgy, which after all does not realize the eschaton in the present. The Image of God remains from beginning to end eschatological: we cannot see it, we can only recognize it under the veil of the sacramental signs of bread and wine (VAN DER LEEUW 1948, 337).

When we try to relate the incarnational conception of liturgy to liturgy's sound, the view of Van der Leeuw becomes somewhat difficult: in his arrangement of arts, he puts music at furthest from the centre, because it lacks visibility and causes problems for imagination (in the most literal sense of the word). This may sound old-fashioned to us – think of sound on music television channels like TMF, MTV and The Box – and one could be of another opinion. Tex Sample, on the basis of his cultural understanding of the Word becoming flesh, probably would disagree at this point with Van der Leeuw's more material understanding of incarnation.

In contrast to Van der Leeuw, we are of the opinion that sound is pre-eminently suitable to 'show' the eschatological character of liturgy. To understand this, one needs to broaden the idea of 'visible invisible reality' and include 'audible inaudible reality'. The eschatological conception of incarnational liturgy does, as said, not realize the eschaton in the present. We cannot see it, we can only recognize it under the veil of the sacramental signs of bread and wine. These signs are not only a cerebral matter. "Do this in remembrance of me." is not in the first place a command to rationally *remember* Christ, but in the first place, to *do* something. So the recognition of the eschaton has unmistakable multi-sensory aspects: if we take the bread, we feel it; if we break, we hear it; if we eat, we smell and taste it. Our body enables us to recognize the sacramental presence (at least, that is what we keep believing, although we know that Christ surely will not let us force him to be present) and in this way we remember Christ. Our emphasis on the acting character of liturgy, which includes the total human body, is in line with Van der Leeuw's view of liturgy. He considers a sacrament to be a symbol (just like contemporary liturgists do): a way to relate to the world, a way to get beside oneself and relate to other domains. Now anyone who symbolizes plays. By playing, people become human beings. Their playing in life also applies to liturgy, which is – for good reason – also described as 'holy play'. As we explained, this holy play is a way in which the encounter with the Eternal One takes place. So Van der Leeuw does not fix God in any theological dogma, but makes the presence of the Eternal One a theme in our reality. He does not set the rules of the doctrine (for example, the agreement to remember Christ, while sharing bread and wine), but studies the rules of the play (BARNARD 2004, 84-90).

We thus observe that our claim that sound is pre-eminently suitable to 'show' the eschatological character of liturgy, *does* go together with Van der Leeuw's view of incarnational liturgy: the sacrament is an eschatological moment in which we encounter God, the multi-sensory aspects of the sacrament enable human beings to recognize the eschaton also in the sound of the holy play. Since the eschaton is a momentary experience (it comes to us and passes again: we cannot grasp it, nor hold it) and since sound is always only present for the moment, maybe the sound aspect of liturgy approaches its sacramental character best. Sounds and music can only search for and point to the eschaton. Sound won't let us touch it, it touches us. Without our body, we cannot perceive sound. But the moment we make or hear it, it is gone. Thus, the 'audible inaudible reality' is – perhaps even more than the 'visible invisible reality', another way to recognize the sacramental presence of God. Maybe we could, by analogy with the quoted sentence of John 1:14, say that "the Word

became sound". We shall need to further investigate this important issue in the empirical part of our Ph.D. study and reflect on it in the third part, which will consists of a scientific reflection on the empirical process, to be able to estimate this thought at its true value.

We must answer one last question, namely: why choose the theological concept of incarnation to investigate liturgy? Would pneumatological creativity not provide a sufficient explanation for the different sounds of the liturgy of different churches? Probably it would, inasmuch as there are more and other methods that might supply answers to our question. Is it because incarnation is 'hot' (and other concepts are 'not') then? It is, partly.

The incarnation concept is often used in theological research these days and is certainly receiving a lot of attention. Who would wittingly ignore this, write an irrelevant and dull thesis and risk that her or his research ends up in a bin? This is overstating the case, of course and it would be a bad sign if a bow to current fashion were my only reason to choose Christology and incarnation in particular. But – and I come to the true reason of my choice now – the fact that, in present theology, incarnation is 'hot', means something. It helps us acquire a better understanding of what is happening in liturgy, in daily life, in the church, in the world around us. I mention these things, because they are not to be separated. They simply do not stand on their own. The fact that I read columns about incarnation in daily newspapers[4], underlines this. And how about the increase of auto mutilation by adolescents, the popularity of yoga, consumer products recommended by naked men and women on billboards to emphasize the sex-appeal of these products? The way we deal with liturgy is influenced by (and maybe influences) the ways in which we are confronted with our corporeality and deal with our body. Incarnation has everything to do with. We simply cannot ignore the material aspect of liturgy: it is too fundamental. Moreover, we do not *want* to ignore it, since it is a promising way to make clear what is at stake in worship. Or to put it the other way around: it is because of the incarnation of Christ that we cannot underestimate the importance of the body in liturgy.

2.3 Experiencing life and liturgy

The theological concept of incarnation does justice to the dynamic relation between liturgy and culture. Human nature is not the same in all times and places, and neither should we expect liturgy to be so. The modern view of 'essential human nature' has changed. Post modernism claims that there is no such thing as 'essential human nature': we all live in a specific culture, which we form and which forms us. Likewise, we cannot speak of universal liturgy: the way liturgy is celebrated is always culturally determined.

As said, the second part of our larger project contains empirical research on the liturgy of (mainly) African communities in the specific area of Amsterdam Southeast. This obliges us to take a closer look at how Africans, on average, experience life and the world around them (2.3.1). This look includes the celebration of liturgy, which is naturally related to world view. Then, we shall show that the 'original' European way of experiencing life is in many ways

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[4] Dutch columnist in a national newspaper: "Small test, just for Christians only. Read this phrase: 'God has chest hair in Jesus.' What kind of feeling does this spontaneously evoke? Right, that is exactly what I mean. Your faith has an aversion to corporeality." (SUURMOND 2006)

opposite to the African. We shall also see how the European world view influences the celebration of liturgy in Europe (2.3.2).

2.3.1 African experience of life and liturgy

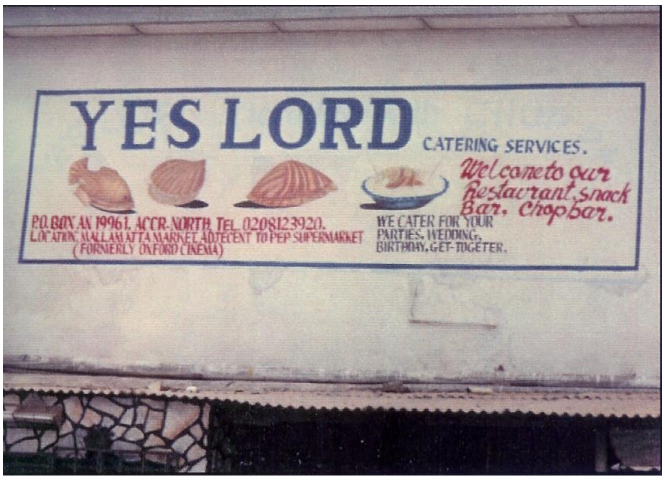
Generally speaking, we can say that Africans have a unified view of life. They experience life, the self and the world holistically and dialectically. Although the world is seen to be complex, it is perceived as a whole. Africans, more than Europeans, have an innate sense of the harmony of the universe, which is reflected in their conception of the self: they perceive themselves to be integral to this harmony of the universe, both mentally and physically. The self reveals itself, in gestures,

> "as one complex reality – visible yet invisible; corporeal-incorporeal; part of, but also the centre of a complex universe of interaction. (…) The rhythm of interaction in this universe is discovered, re-created and expressed bodily by humans." (UZUKWU 1997, 10).

In fact, a human being is seen as a microcosm representation of the universe.

The perception of the self as being integral to the harmony of the universe implies that body and spirit are seen to be equal in value. What is more, Africans do not even conceive of body and spirit in the individual in terms of a dichotomy: the human person is a unity. In addition, the corporate wholeness extends not only to the self, but also to community: oneness and harmony are significant within the social body. One might even say that in Black African cultures, a person is nothing without the community: an individual only becomes a person in relation to others.

Thus, we see that it is natural for Africans to define life basically in terms of relatedness: to the self, the other, the community and the universe. When it comes to the latter: the sense of being in harmony with the world is also reflected in the African perception of holiness. Although, in recent times, globalization has led to change, African people originally experienced no duality between concepts like 'sacred' and 'secular'. A distinction between religion and other areas of human existence was unfamiliar. "Africans get their spiritual revelation and inspiration from neither a book nor their oral tradition but from their lives. (…) Africans recognize the role of the supreme God and the work of various lesser divinities in their daily human existence." (REED 2003, 1). In Black African civilization the material universe is



The sacred as everyday practice: such advertisements are very popular in African urban centres. *Photo by Daniel Avorgbedor, Madina, Accra, July 2000* (AVORGBEDOR 2003, after 252).

the place of communion with the divine. (As we shall see, this is in contrast to the theology that is influenced by a dualistic conception of human personality as consisting of body and soul.) Moreover, the human person is part of the sacred: he or she is seen as the figure of the divine. Thus, "the human is in the sacred and the sacred in the human" (KABASELE LUMBALA 1998, 3).

No wonder that, in the perception of Africans, religion and culture (including other religions) go hand in hand: "African cultures are impregnated with the sense of the religious and the holy, so that in Africa attention to culture and the encounter of the Christian religion with other religions go together." (David Power in KABASELE LUMBALA 1998, foreword x). The road of God and of the church is, after all, the road of humanity. This is mirrored by the beliefs that the Word became flesh (John 1:14), and that the man Jesus is the image of the invisible God (Col.1:15). The divine is revealed in the human, therefore incarnation is a kernel concept in the context of liturgy.

Summarizing the above, we can say that the African world view and the African experience of life and liturgy is to be described not in terms of duality, dichotomy, bipolarity, contrasts and clear and distinct categories, but rather in terms of unity, harmony, totality, communion and blended or fused dimensions. When it comes to celebrating worship services, it is now easy to understand that African liturgy cannot exist without involving a whole range of senses. "Liturgy is a place where the sense of sight, hearing, touch, smell and taste determine the objects, arrange the space, organize the relationship and the contact among persons." (KABASELE LUMBALA 1998, 2). Taken as a symbol, liturgy signifies the glory of God and the salvation of humanity, and must therefore do justice to humanity: to the individual body, the social body and to the cosmic body of humanity (KABASELE LUMBALA 1998, 7). The concept of incarnation again makes clear the importance of humanity in the relationship with God.

2.3.2 European experience of life and liturgy

The West European experience of life, the self and the world is almost diametrically opposed to the African world view (or, for that matter, to the Latin-American and Carribean world views). Holistic nor dialectic, the European world view has always been predominantly dualistic. This manifests itself in a multitude of ways.

Of basic importance is the perception of the self: the individual is seen to consist of spirit and body, which are distinct components of unequal value. The spirit prevails over the body, and this has been a problematic concept, ever since Greco-Roman antiquity. It is particularly the art of rhetoric, as developed in the thinking of the classical world that has enabled this view of the self, by its perception of physical movement. In rhetoric, moderation was stressed and in the ideal gesture the spirit dominated the matter (UZUKWU 1997, 6). Gradually, the concepts of 'spirit' and 'body' came to be seen more as polar opposites, the spirit taking precedence. To Plato and Aristotle, the ideal state of being is that "where there is no place either for joy or for pain, but only for thought at the highest possible degree of purity." (KABASELE LUMBALA 1998, 2). The body eventually became "a problem to the spirit, a burden to the self, a prison to the soul" (UZUKWU 1997, 7). Since Christianity in Europe has its roots in classical antiquity, this dualistic conception of man became indigenous to the church and became more widespread as Christianity grew. The negative view of the body was given another a renewed impetus when the Western church, in

particular the Church Fathers, identified the concept of 'body' with the (fallen) flesh (*sarx*). It was mainly Augustine who emphasized the original sin of the flesh, a dogma that intensified the thinking in terms of spirit versus body. This teaching did little to help the appreciation of the body and bodily movement in liturgy. Although by the twelfth century gesture was being conceived of in less negative terms, it appears that by then the ideas inherited from antiquity had affected West European thinking on the unity of body and spirit (and, by implication, on the unity of life) in an irreversible way. Centuries later, Enlightenment rationalism gave a new impulse to the divisional thinking: the spiritual is separated from the physical, the rational from the emotional, the natural from the supernatural (REDMAN 2002, 105). Immanuel Kant's epistemological division between 'a priori reasonable thinking' and 'a posteriori experience', between reason and religious faith, *Vernunft* and *Urteilskraft*, is illustrative here. Although these ideas have influenced modernity, the relevance of their distinctions fades away with the advent of post modern thinking: post modernism rejects modernism's concept of absolute, unified and objective truth, and emphasizes personal experience as the arbiter of truth; it rejects the modern emphasis on rational discoveries through scientific methods, which had provided the intellectual foundation for the modern attempt to construct a better world; it considers truth to be both radically subjective and radically relative and introduces a socially constructed truth (REDMAN 2002, 132-133). Whereas in Kant's Enlightenment thinking the subject is still sovereign and is endowed with overview, in post modernism the subject itself is critically questioned.

The shift from modernism to post modernism has in several ways influenced the European view of the self. Contrary to the Enlightenment ideal of the dispassionate, autonomous, rational individual, the self as seen by post modernism is far more complex and artificial than the rationalists and, later on, the moderns had thought. The self, formerly considered as unitary and exclusively rational, has come to be perceived as a composite of selves, of which some correspond to different functions of the brain, and others to social norms and expectations. Post moderns claims that the self is changeable, rather than stable and fixed, and is relational rather than isolated from (or unaffected by) context or social relations. Moreover, some post moderns believe that the true nature of the self is mysterious and beyond our capacity to understand, while others claim that there is no such thing as a self: selfhood to them is just a social construction, designed to reinforce group identity (REDMAN 2002, 139-140). However, the fact that, in everyday life, the well-known saying "I am only human" may still be heard, indicates that the post modern view of the self is not (or at least not yet) generally an accepted one, and that the dualistic character of our thinking is deep-seated in our European consciousness.

The saying "I am only human" also reflects something else: a sharp distinction between human and the divine. The dualistic character of European thinking thus also reveals itself in the experience of the sacred, which is clearly separated from the secular. These conceptual boundaries in the European tradition are shown in the practice of religion, which is "rituals performed at appointed times and in designated spaces" (REED 2003, 1). Religion is a distinct area of human consciousness that can have a connection to other areas of life only by means of human acts.

All value judgements aside, it is good to be aware of this dualistic thinking and of the fact that we make these distinctions. Once more we are reminded that the European world view is not the only possible one. To consider our research subject as being a combination of different elements, is contrary to the way other cultures perceive life and the world. As far as African cultures are concerned, they may be said to be

"impregnated with the sense of the religious and the holy, so that in Africa attention to culture and the encounter of the Christian religion with other religions go together. For peoples who like to separate their religion and their common cultural values, this is a reminder that, however legitimate or necessary the distinction, it is not possible to banish the question of the transcendent and of communion with the spiritual world, however it is conceived, from any sphere of life." (David Power in KABASELE LUMBALA 1998, foreword x).

2.4 Conclusions

This chapter started with the anthropological claim that liturgy is a ritual, followed by a discussion of the theology of liturgy and of the connection between the two disciplines in relation to liturgy.

In search for an answer to the question which concepts appear to be important to the conception of liturgy in a post modern, 21st century, European society (our first sub question), we have seen that the concept of *incarnation* can suitably relate the theology and the anthropology of liturgy to each other. The incarnation concept connects our human body – with and in all its cultural, social, ecological, historical, corporeal and contemporary manifestations, dimensions, forms and aspects – to the body of Jesus Christ, the Word, who "was made flesh, and dwelt among us". Further more, incarnation makes clear that liturgy – seen as the portrayal of the human search for God's image, as 'visible invisible reality' – has *sacramental* and *eschatological* dimensions. We also formulated the hypothesis that the eschatological dimension of incarnational liturgy becomes pre-eminently clear in the sound aspect of liturgy, because sound is present, temporary and looks to the future at the same time. The latter shall be investigated more closely in the empirical part of our PhD study. In preparation for this part, we have, in this chapter, elaborated on the experience of life and the world – the fleshly 'encodings' – of two groups: European and African people. These 'encodings' give an insight into the incarnational dimension of their liturgy.

Chapter 3 Performance

3.1 Introduction

A part of the research question mentions 'the performance of liturgy'. It is a truism that without performance, there is no liturgy. But what about this performance character? We shall in this chapter focus on our second sub question: 'What is performance and which performance aspects are important in liturgy?'. To be able to examine this, we require – as often in the present-day practice of Liturgical Studies – a multidisciplinary research method. Scholars in Liturgics intensively use Ritual Studies, that include disciplines like anthropology, sociology, cultural studies, theatre and performance studies, semiotics, musicology, philosophy, psychology and so on. In this chapter, we first take a closer look at the performance of liturgy (3.2) and compare this to theatre performances (3.3). Afterwards, we shall focus on one major performance aspect that is also very important in relation to sound, namely: body motion (3.4). As in the preceding chapter, we shall again relate this aspect to European and African cultures. Their views on the body are, of course, closely connected to their world views. Therefore it is good to keep 2.3 at the back of our minds, while reading this section. We shall complete the chapter with a short summary and some conclusions (3.5).

3.2 To perform liturgy

The phenomenon 'performance' appears to be a complicated one. In the first volume of an American Series on Performance Studies the editors write (already in 1982) in their introduction:

> "Performance is no longer easy to define or locate: the concept and structure has spread all over the place. It is ethnic and intercultural, historical and a-historical, aesthetic and ritual, sociological and political. Performance is a mode of behaviour, an approach to experience; it is play, sport, aesthetics, popular entertainments, experimental theatre, and more." (TURNER 1982, 4).

The author of the first volume in this Series, the anthropologist Victor Turner, describes his vision on what performance is. According to him, performance is an essential part of experience. An experience itself is a process which 'presses out' to an 'expression' which completes that process. By bringing up the etymology of the word 'performance' – a word that has nothing to do with 'form', but derives from Old French *parfournir*, a verb that means 'to complete' or 'to carry out thoroughly' – Turner concludes that performance, then, is the proper finale of an experience, a structured unit of experience, so to say (TURNER 1982, 13-15). He thus constructs a 'laminated' semantic system focused on experience (in German: *Erlebnis*, literally "what has been *lived* through") – it may be a ritual, a pilgrimage, a social drama, a friend's death, a protracted labour, and other *Erlebnisse* (the word comes from the philosopher Dilthey, MK). Such an experience is incomplete, though, unless one of its 'moments' is 'performance': an act of creative retrospection in which 'meaning' is attributed to the events and parts of experience, even if the meaning is that 'there is no meaning'. Thus, experience is both 'living through' and 'thinking back'." (TURNER 1982, 18).

The concept of performance, in the sense of 'living through an experience', is relevant to liturgy. Liturgy can be seen as the finale of the experience that God has done, and continues to do great deeds in the history of mankind. In theological terms, this remembrance is called *anamnesis*: we present (and by presenting them live through) God's deeds, with an eye to the future. The anamnesis is an important aspect of liturgy's ecclesiastical order of rites and symbols. As an aspect of this order, anamnesis occurs through prayer, the reading of the scriptures, the sermon, and – in particular – when Christ is remembered in the Eucharist. This remembrance is irrefutably an act, an execution. Liturgy thus becomes an act of creative retrospection in which meanings are ascribed to events and deeds; in this way liturgy gets a performance character. Without performance, without a 'living through' of the remembrance of God's deeds, there is no anamnesis. It is obvious that liturgy, described as a 'finale', is always just a temporary, provisional finale, that lasts until the next (earthly or heavenly) celebration.

Now the question might rise how this aspect of experience relates to the eschatological and sacramental character of liturgy. Again, *anamnesis* is the keyword. The (provisional) finale of the experience of God's deeds is performed, as said, *with an eye to the future*. The anamnetic character of liturgy keeps the expectation of a future redeeming of a promise alive. This happens in words, in sounds, in the sacramental signs of bread and wine. The performance of liturgy becomes 'visible invisible reality' (and/or 'audible inaudible reality'), because in the experience of the remembrance the image of God is recognized. The performance still does not realize the eschaton in the present, it points toward the future.

The similarity between performance 'on stage' and the performance of liturgy becomes even clearer when Turner concludes his book with the following quotation of Schechner:

> "Performance comprehends the impulse to be serious and to entertain; to collect meanings and to pass the time; to display symbolic behaviour that actualized 'there and then' and to exist only 'here and now'; to be oneself and to play at being others; to be in a trance and to be conscious; to get results and to fool around; to focus the action on and for a select group sharing a hermetic language, and to broadcast to the largest possible audiences of strangers who buy a ticket." (Schechner quoted in TURNER 1982, 122).

As we will show, there are several analogies between performance and liturgy here. The impulse to be serious and to play is an ambiguity that also characterizes liturgical performance: liturgy is a play, a holy play though. It is an order in which meanings are collected, ascribed and appropriated. Time is passed, even articulated, but also exceeded. The exceeding of the time is related to the character of *anamnesis*. As we said, the 'there and then' is actualised in liturgy, in 'the here and now', in different ways: in either the reading of the scriptures or the celebration of the Eucharist the past is presented, becomes meaningful in the present, and promises for the future. The holy play has often aspects of acting as well: all people have a role, although the role of some is more close to their own personalities than the role of others (the person who conducts the service probably has the most remarkable role). To get results and to fool around refers in the case of liturgy to its meaningfulness and uselessness at the same time. Liturgy is, as a ritual, a process of ongoing appropriation of meaning; it is a meaning network that relates to and interferes with other meaning networks. But liturgy is useless at the same time. It has no function: it is celebrated for no other sake than its own. The polar opposition between the 'in-crowd' and a larger audience of strangers

is also demonstrable in liturgy and relates to the question: what is church? The term 'in-crowd' could refer to the faithful that gather around the Word, the people who form the church together. But mindful of the call to mission, the church has a Word to the world and so the gospel is spread to a larger audience (no tickets needed).

Turner finally draws the conclusion that

> "When we act in everyday life (…), we act in frames we have wrested from the genres of cultural performance. And when we act on the stage, whatever our stage may be, we must now in this reflexive age of psycho-analysis and semiotics, as never before, bring into the symbolic or fictitious world the urgent problems of our reality. We have to go into the subjunctive world of monsters, demons, and clowns, of cruelty and poetry, in order to make sense of our daily lives, earning our daily bread." (TURNER 1982, 122).

This statement implies that if we do not bring our reality into liturgy – which we, after all, consider a symbolic order – liturgy does not make sense. I once more call to mind the remark of Tex Sample, mentioned in the second chapter of this thesis, stating that if liturgy is experienced as irrelevant (i.e. not related to our daily lives), the problem is that liturgy is not incarnational.

In line with Turner's thoughts on performance, which may be summarized as 'living through an experience', is Schleiermacher's view of liturgy and the arts. He considers both to be representations of affections. Marcel Barnard – who, in an article on secular and Christian feast, demonstrates how Schleiermacher's thinking can be useful to the study of liturgy and the arts – shows the starting point of Schleiermacher's reasoning, namely, the individual subject, constituted in its dependency on God. According to Schleiermacher, liturgy originates "from human activity in which inwardness enters into an outward manifestation" (BARNARD 2001, 189). "The outward manifestation is only possible by means of art. Worship and feast are always to a greater or lesser degree compositions of artistic elements such as speech, music, singing and decoration. (…) The essence of all arts is its manifestation, just as everything that seeks only to be a manifestation or representation is art." (BARNARD 2001, 190). When we relate Schleiermacher's theory to the notion of performance, we see that the religious feeling of being dependent on God is in fact worthless if it is not expressed/represented/manifested. Performing liturgy is a form of representative activity. The performance of the ritual is an expression of a (religious) feeling, which comes from a heightening of consciousness that leads to this manifestation. No worship without manifestation, no liturgy without performance. The expression of artistic and religious feeling forms "a cycle or *order of myths and symbols*." (BARNARD 2001, 189, italics mine).

The notion of performance is also brought up by the Roman catholic sacramental theologian Edward Schillebeeckx. He comes to speak about the Christian sacraments in terms of ritual, the essence of which is that they present and express Christian faith in the form of a 'performance', based on a scenario or score (SCHILLEBEECKX 2000, 175). This performance has, as a ritual, in general its own rules and its own logic. At the same time it is controlled and lead by a religious faith, that *in* and *by the performance itself* gets deepened and intensified towards a concrete conveyance of faith. So similar to the way the performance of a musical score can move people and evoke something with the participants, one could speak about

the performative 'force' of liturgy (SCHILLEBEECKX 2000, 184). Schillebeeckx, like Turner, mentions the original meaning of the word 'performance', that roughly boils down to "to accomplish something to the end". But he continues and signalizes the fact that nowadays the word 'performance' also indicates some artistic appearance: it is widely used in connection with films, TV, theatres, shows and spectacles. This goes back to about 1965, when the word 'performance' began to be used to indicate artistic 'shows' or 'appearances', in all kinds of contexts. Originally, the audience did not take part in the performance, but listened and sat by and watched. When the notion broadened, the meaning of 'performance' was extended to include engagement. It increasingly implied movement and involvement. More than ever, performance now comprises physical expressiveness and/or artistic command of language and musicality, show and 'achievement'. In the terminology of linguistics, performance and 'performativity' have become standard usage. These terms refer to the 'speech-act theory', which means that the act the speech refers to, is performed or executed by the speech itself (SCHILLEBEECKX 2000, 186). Once he has clarified the historical use of the word 'performance', Schillebeeckx explains how he, as a theologian, uses the word in relation to liturgy. Christian liturgy is not about *one* performer (the minister), but about a gathered religious community, which – as a whole! – is the active subject of the entire performance (although the parts of that performance are distributed among a number of individual participants). The religious ritual, as a performance, has something to do with an artistic, consistent *mise en scène*, that both invites acting and, at the same time, is expression of this acting: worship, gratitude and tribute, brotherly and sisterly love, and contemporary ethos or ethic acting. Sacramental liturgy is not theatre, not a musical concert, not choreography, not show; but as a performance liturgy shares in the features common to all of these, which betray their connection (SCHILLEBEECKX 2000, 186-187). On the basis of our research question, the following questions could rise: how and on which accounts can the sound of liturgy be described as a *mise en scène*?; how important is the artistic element of sonorous acting in liturgy?; in which way can be understood that liturgical performance differs from theatre performances?; which is the role of engagement in liturgical performance?

Gerard Lukken, who investigated several performance aspects from the viewpoint of semiotics in his essay "What has liturgy got to do with theatre?" (LUKKEN 1996, 134-166), mentions several similarities between the performance of liturgy and theatre performances (including concerts, opera, ballet, cabaret, et cetera). We shall discuss two important resemblances he examined.

Firstly, both the audience of a play and the churchgoers pass through a narrative program. Several acts frame the main program of attending the performance (the play or the worship service), namely: 1) to go there; 2) to cross the threshold; 3) to enter; 4) to attend the performance; 5) to leave the hall; 6) to go back home. In phase three, the visitors gather and become a collective acting group: the audience or congregation. This group dissolves again in phase six, where they become individual agents again.

Secondly, both liturgy and theatre work with a script: a book with texts and directions. This script, in liturgy often called 'order', is performed more than once. Still, each performance is a unique instance, which is never repeated in exactly the same way. In both cases the script is at a later stage (in a greater or lesser degree) adapted into a detailed scenario for the actual performance. Liturgy is tied up to its order, more than theatre is: the repetition aspect of ritual, which thus also characterizes liturgy, restrains the 'producer' (i.e.

the minister) from introducing too many changes. But, mindful of the liturgical year, adaptations in liturgy are both possible and required.

3.3 Liturgy and theatre

As we see, liturgy and theatre touch on each other, but there are clear differences as well. These differences have resulted from a historical development during which theatre and ritual, although originally at unity, moved into separation, and subsequently moved back to a state of interweaving, as is clearly described by Gerard Lukken (LUKKEN 2005, 324-331). This is in line with the tendency Marcel Barnard discerns, in which the originally single domain of imagination, that evolved into the two separate domains of art and liturgy, is restored to unity (BARNARD 2002, 22-25). Discussing the relation between liturgy and theatre from original Greek drama to the present, Lukken makes the complex relationship between the two more intelligible. Obviously, it is not so easy to determine solid differences in the performance of liturgy and performances 'on stage'. Apparently, the differences are differences in degree. We mention a couple of his distinctions here.

In the first place, liturgy is a play that aims at future *realization* (GOVAART & SPEELMAN 2006, 103). It will be remembered that we have described liturgy as 'eschatological moment' in chapter 2. In liturgy, the eschaton is not realized in the present: liturgy is a moment that recalls and refers to a future realization. This realization remains a promise. Something of this eventual and future reality is recognized in the present though. Transcendent dimensions envisioned: "one accepts reality, but directs it, and thus penetrates into it, and breaks through it into the transcendent depths as a (to a large extent yet to be revealed) mystery" (LUKKEN 2005, 323). Now, a play in a theatre does not aim at a future realization, on the contrary: a future *unmasking* is expected – in the play, an imaginary world is created, a dream, an illusion. This is what theatre is about: to believe that our own reality is not the only possible reality. Aside from the world we know, other possibilities are explored – but, when the play has ended, the performers step out of their role. They return to everyday reality and so does the audience. The dream, the imaginary world is not our reality. In liturgy the situation is different: it enacts not a possible world but a coming world, a promised future. Worshippers are not expecting an unmasking as with a play; instead, they (choose to) believe that eventually the realization will come.

In the second place, a role in a play differs from a role in liturgy. In a play, a role is adopted by an actor, who, in order to enter into the character, agrees to partically loos himself. In liturgy, the participant's role is superimposed on the human being that he is (GOVAART & SPEELMAN 2006, 103). Moreover, the role that participants in liturgy play should not be performed in an expressly theatrical (let alone exhibitionistic) way: a certain reticence is desired, to create an enabling space for participation by all who are present. The pastor stands back, mindful not to let his performance of a religious text interfere with the underlying 'actual' voice and the 'true' discourse he communicates (LUKKEN 1996, 145).

Thirdly, the communication between those who are in attendance varies according to the type of the performance and the relations it implies. In theatre we find actors and spectators, usually opposite to one another. They have different roles. The actors are there to act, the spectators are there to watch, to listen, to laugh, to intervene sometimes, to applaud, et cetera. Both parties perform, each in their own way. Most of the time, there are spatial boundaries between them. If a boundary is transgressed, this is merely a dramatic provocation: the transgression recognizes and even emphasises the boundary (LUKKEN

1996, 139). This is different from liturgy, in which there is no such distinction between actors and audience. All who are in attendance are acting subjects, there is a collective acting agent who performs on behalf of them. There are less explicit spatial boundaries between the two: there are no footlights, there may be a space between the community and the space where the central ritual action takes place, but this is not in order to focus the attention on the actors so that they outshine the worshippers. Indeed, those boundaries may be crossed when appropriate, for example when parishioners come forward to read lessons or to say prayers.

3.4 Body motion in liturgy

As mentioned several times above, we consider Christian liturgy to be ritual. One of the characteristics of ritual, in general, is that it does not exist, except as performance: without action, without actual accomplishment or execution, no ritual – and thus no liturgy – can exist. Besides, ritual itself is actually pattern of action. It is in this way that liturgy and performance are inextricably bound up with each other.

Now, performance always involves movement of the human body (verbal and non-verbal). This means that there is no liturgy without motion, or, to put it another way: liturgy is always dependent on performance and therefore on human gestural behaviour, which we consider to be the act of moving the limbs or the body as an expression of thought or emphasis. This gestural behaviour is characteristic of humans: they are after all "acting-beings", every human person is "an endless complex of gestures" and humans "assimilate bodily the impact that this universe makes on them, and they display, bodily, adequate responses" (UZUKWU 1997, 2).

In liturgy, all different kinds of movements are conceivable, from the motion of the vocal cords for speech or song, to motion of the body through playing an instrument, rhythmic hand clapping, or swaying and dancing, etcetera. The act of body movement in liturgy is often, if not always, accompanied by sound. In fact, liturgy always sounds, no matter how: speech produces sound, as well as singing or the ringing of bells do. Even when liturgy is performed in silence, there is the sound of taking seats, coughing, maybe sighing. A moment of complete silence can be described as the total absence or articulation of sound. Thus, we can say that sound, performance and liturgy are inevitably related to each other. The way sound in liturgy is performed, or rather: the body motion that goes together with sound in liturgy, depends on the (group) identity of the celebrator(s). This is because, as we shall now see, motions and gestures are bound to an ethnic experience: all human gestural behaviour has an ethnic basis and the social body gives gestures their meaning. We shall first investigate body motion in African culture and liturgy (3.4.1). Subsequently, the subject will be mapped in relation to European culture and liturgy (3.4.2).

3.4.1 Body motion in African culture and liturgy

Although it is obvious that music and dance are intertwined, we will confine this paragraph, for a clear understanding of the matter, to dance, and resume the thread of music in chapter four.

The statement that the human body is very important in liturgy might not seem an obvious truth to West European worshippers, but it is likely that the African churchgoer will readily subscribe to it.

The crucial concept here is 'rhythm'. Rhythm is supreme and is everywhere. The world moves in various rhythms. Days, months, seasons and years follow one another. Man and woman are born, grow up, age and die. Human beings are carried by the rhythm. They deal with this rhythm according to the social body they are part of. The African way of managing the rhythmical order of the universe and the ambivalence of life can be described as a rhythmic sharing of experience through music and dance. For Africans, music and dance are ways of bodily assimilating the impact that the universe has on them, and they dance, sing and 'musick'[5] their responses accordingly. Notably, this applies not only to music professionals or musically talented men and women, but to everyone. Everyone is expected to be minimally competent in music making, particularly in singing and dancing.[6] Thus, all Africans try to harmonize – or even reconcile – their lives with the rhythm of the universe. The following quotation is illustrative here:

> "In Africa, in particular, it is characteristic to believe that the world is well-created and beats with a certain rhythm. Therefore, humans must synchronize themselves with this rhythm. This is the principle role of dance. One dances in joy as certainly one dances in pain; one dances love certainly as one dances anger and hatred. One dances rest and work. All life's elements come from the rhythm and harmony and are to be celebrated in dance." (KABASELE LUMBALA 1998, 25).

Dancing, as all gestures, can thus be seen as a realization of human creative freedom that integrates the universe into humans lot.

Because it is normal to dance life, it is usual to dance liturgy, the life in Jesus Christ, as well: it would be very unnatural not to do so. Liturgy, being life, must be danced, all the more because the body is the *locus* of communion with the divine, since – and we repeat what we mentioned before – the material universe is the place into which the divine makes its way. The body is vital and dance is a necessity for prayer, because rhythm forms a basic reference for the understanding and experience of the universe. This has, according to noted liturgist David Power, three implications for the African (thus cultural!) worship of God:

> "First, revering God requires that the human person have a sense of personal wholeness, without any division in the self between the spirit and the body. Second, it requires respect for the human need to act in accord with the rhythms of nature. Third, it requires harmony and oneness within the community, something that is expressed in

[5] The term is from dr. Chris Small, who stated in one of his lectures that he has problems with the word 'music', since music isn't a thing but an action. "It ought to be a verb. The verb 'to music'. (…) I have taken the liberty of redefining this verb, which does in fact have an obscure existence in some of the larger English dictionaries, to suit this purpose. I offer it to you now, the verb 'to music', with its present participle 'musicking' as in the title of this talk – the added 'k' is no caprice but has historical antecedents – not as verbal cutesiness but as a genuine tool for the understanding of the act of music and of its function in human life." (SMALL 1995). For further explanation, see Chapter 4.

[6] In many African societies, drumming is the exclusive preserve of male though. It reflects one aspect of the larger societal distribution of power (AGAWU 1995, 91).

> the coordinated movements of the dance, danced together rather than alone." (Power in KABASELE LUMBALA 1998, foreword xii).

It would be far from truth to pretend that Africans are the only people who dance their liturgy. Ritual dance has always existed, not only in Christian worship, also in oriental cults (such as the Cult of Dionysus) and in Judaism. Nevertheless, even though Christians in Europe are attempting to emancipate from the old contempt for and pessimism about the body, and even though liturgical dance is cautiously being revalued, liturgical dance is at its best seen as a way which helps to express and communicate a message to the spectating audience.[7] But this attitude is totally different from the African liturgical motion, for in Africa

> "one expresses oneself through dance, but above all, one seeks harmony between one's body and spirit in the liturgical action, harmony between the members and the community at prayer, harmony with the Spirit of God, which makes us pray" (KABASELE LUMBALA 1998, 25).

3.4.2 Body motion in European culture and liturgy

We have already indicated that European cultures are characterized by pessimistic ideas about the body and movement. The fact that these ideas have been inculcated time and again, is significant. History has frequently shown that the emphasis on specific thoughts often arises from a resistance to opposite ideas. The negative view of the body is a good example of resistance against a countermovement, which glorifies the body. Both the past and the present provide examples of adoration of the body, expressed in various ways: from the worship of fertility goddesses to pictures in bus shelters of half naked men, recommending the latest deodorant, and plump women (a statement in itself!) on billboards, showing knickers and G-strings. Although the negative *reasoning* about the body has been dominant for a long time, these tendencies in *culture* have not and will not let themselves be ruled out by such pessimistic and condemning views.

The roots of the negative view of the body are clear though: Christian theologians and philosophers, who were responsible for the church's 'guidelines' concerning Christian behaviour, were acquainted with and were influenced by Greek and Roman classical philosophies. Body movement, as one of the aspects of behaviour, thus was to be regulated by *modestia*: since God was seen as 'the unmoved mover', godlike immobility was preferred above 'undisciplined body motion'. Motions of hand and face were generally approved, as they were prominent in classical rhetoric. These gestures embodied the Greek-Roman Christian world view, other movements were virtually deemed improper in the church. In time, body and movement became more suspect through the process of inculturation of Christianity in the West.

This is, of course, a most generalizing assumption, that needs added nuance. Obviously, we cannot celebrate liturgy without the body now, but neither could Christians in the first centuries. Even though Christianity was deeply tuned to the classical world, it was influenced

[7] Compare, in the preceding paragraph, the last part of the third implication that David Power mentions.

by other practices. The church freely adopted gestures that were used in Judaism and Greco-Roman religions, "without feeling they were betraying their Christian faith" (UZUKWU 1997, 18). These gestures consisted of orientation toward the east, washing of hands before prayer, making the sign of the cross, taking of baths, gestures of blessing, elevation and extension of hands in prayer, patterns of kneeling, kissing, etcetera.

Meanwhile, the European dualistic view of spirit and body has changed, at least in theology, according to the Dutch Roman-Catholic theologian Gerard Lukken. He considers the broad anthropological shift in theology to be the cause of this change. Particularly since the sixties of the last century, there has been an increasing interest in the human being (in all his facets) in Christian liturgy. Corporeality and its own value are emphasized. The human body – which is the whole body, including all its senses of touch, sight, smell, taste and sound – is considered to be a junction in any ritual, and thus also in liturgy. We shall explain this.

The Western church tradition has long emphasized people's spiritual participation in liturgy, to the detriment of the bodily aspects of liturgy's performance. It is nevertheless by our senses that liturgy comes to us. Or to put it the other way around: we can only partake in liturgy with and through our body, just as our body enables us, in general, to live and to organize our life. So the body is an instrument to participate in liturgy. Still, this instrumental view of the body is somewhat restricted in scope. There are more qualities to corporeality. The body is also capable to mediate symbolically. Symbolic mediation implies that our body and the things around us can become an expression of a more profound world. They can even realize and perform contact with this world. This does not mean that the body is merely an instrument by means of which we are able to transcend our own powers of perception: the body is the first condition to transcend these powers (LUKKEN 1990, 11). We cannot do without it, but the body also has capacities or qualities to act symbolically instead of only instrumentally. To give an example: we can bend because we want to pick something up (an instrumental act), but our bowing can also be an expression of our respect toward the reality which exceeds us (symbolic act). When we act symbolically, two things are going on: on the one hand, our symbolic acting is the expression of an other reality and evokes this reality; on the other hand, this deeper reality reveals itself to us in our symbolic acting. There is movement in two directions: from us and toward us. In both cases, this movement always involves the body. These symbolic acts are only effective when they are full expressions and performances of human corporeality and of the way we bodily deal with life and the things around us (LUKKEN 1990, 13-14).

This explanation touches the sore spot of liturgy in the European world, which is marked by a change in the way of symbolic acting. We need to elucidate this. As we said above, performance is one of the basic dimensions of ritual. Therefore, liturgy is dependent on symbolic acting. Inadequate acting or poor performance can ruin a ritual that would otherwise be powerful. Now in the West, there is a tendency to keep distant from ritual (POST 2001, 40). We talk about liturgy, rather than participate in it. We prefer to explain ritual, instead of being taken along by the ritual. Rituals are often weakened because we do not surrender to the play. This hesitant attitude toward symbolic acting naturally influences the corporeality of liturgy. If we are reluctant to participate, we shall not get drawn into liturgy, nor will our bodies be involved.

This change must be seen in the light of present-day ritual dynamics in the West. In one of his articles, Paul Post explores these dynamics and the way they become evident in the form, content and perception of rites. He points out three signals which indicate the shifts in ritual experience: (1) ritual is hardly being celebrated and performed collectively, but enacted

by some and spectated by others; (2) the ritual play is no longer performed according to mythical rules (i.e. open-minded towards all sensory dimensions and without any explanatory comments): there is a lot of explanation, commentary and clarification *about* the ritual during the performance of it; (3) there is a tendency to render an account of the legitimacy of the ritual in the ritual play itself: we hardly know how to deal with the uselessness of ritual (POST 1999, 136).

The European tendency to keep a certain distance from the ritual, might indicate that our liturgy (our symbolic acts) does not match the way we presently deal (physically) with life and the things around us. Surely the way we experience and know the world, is different from the way our ancestors did. We even differ from our own parents in this respect. The fact that the church did not deal with the changes brought on by our electronic culture is, according to Tex Sample, a basic factor in the lower levels of participation of post-World War II electronic generations.

> "We face a time reminiscent of the coming of the printing press and the way in which Martin Luther, for one, addressed its implications and responded to the challenges it represented. We live in a transformation of the culture with implications even more far-reaching for the life of the contemporary church than those of Luther's time." (SAMPLE 1998, 15).

This transformation of the culture consists of relating to the world through images, through sound as beat and through visualisation (SAMPLE 1998, 14). Words are being eradicated, we turn more and more to icons in our communication. Our 'sensorium' (the historical and cultural organization of the senses) is radically being transformed in the electronic culture: "people are being 'wired' differently in the enormous changes brought by new developments in new technology" (SAMPLE 1998, 16). The role of media cannot be underestimated here. They are basically extensions of the human body:

> "That is, the wheel extends the foot, the book extends the eye and modern media extend the central nervous system. Further, the speed of electronic communication radically changes our relation to space and time, collapsing them in such ways that we simultaneously experience events around the globe. All of these introduce a larger scale into our lives." (SAMPLE 1998, 17).

The church has, regarding her worship, at least in Europe, hardly engaged in electronic culture so far. Consequently, she has not found the good sense (yet) to relate the gospel to the new culture forming all around us.

Thus, notwithstanding the anthropological shift in theology, the cautious attempts to revalue the role of the body in liturgy, and the emphasis on the body in our culture, it would seem that the body does not have a undisputed place, neither in European cultures, nor in European worship. Freedom of physical expression is in many Protestant churches still more or less restricted to standing, sitting and – in few cases – kneeling. Other kinds of physical activity, like raising hands, clapping or dancing, are often frowned upon (REDMAN 2002, 40). Time will tell if Pentecostal and charismatic churches, were physical expression of worship seems to be no problem at all and has maybe even gone to excess, have such influence that this bodily stiffness of Protestants will be overcome. It is unlikely that they will go out their

heads in their worship services, but a little more movement would not do any harm to the corporeality of their liturgy and its incarnational character.

3.5 Conclusions

We started this chapter with a discussion of the term 'performance', on the basis of our second sub question: "What is performance and which performance aspects are important in liturgy?" We have seen that the concept developed from a term which pointed to the 'completion' of an act to a synonym for a complete happening or spectacle. The performance aspect of liturgy was seen to have roots in original Greek drama, which made clear that natural similarities between liturgy and theatre exist. In time, the performance of liturgy detached itself from theatre performance, but it has never become totally isolated. Nowadays, there is a tendency towards a restoration of their unity. Nonetheless, we gained an insight into the points of similarity and difference between liturgy and theatre, in terms of procedure of attendance, production of scripts and scenarios, perception of reality, conception of roles and communication in the performance.

As we have seen, the concept of performance in the sense of 'living through an experience', is relevant to liturgy through the *anamnesis*. In the anamnesis, which features liturgy's 'ecclesiastical' order, we present (and by presenting live through) God's deeds, with an eye to the future. This anamnesis only takes place through an act, through performance. Liturgy thus becomes an act of creative retrospection – in which meanings are ascribed to events and deeds – with eschatological dimensions: the anamnetic character of liturgy keeps the expectation of a future redeeming of a promise alive. In this way, liturgy gets a performance character.

Because of the acting character of liturgy, we have focused on what is probably its most significant performance aspect: motion, performed by human beings, who have nothing more and nothing less than their bodies to do so. We have discovered how the body is perceived in African and European cultures, an issue that is closely related to the way life and the world are experienced in these cultures – a way that partly constitutes their fleshly 'encodings'. These encodings take place in the body and are expressed through body motion. We have come to understand that the body it is of great importance to the way incarnational liturgy is performed.

Chapter 4 Sound

4.1 Introduction

We are to investigate the sound of liturgy in this Master Thesis. Sound is a very broad concept, that manifests itself in different forms. Because music is one of the most common forms in which we experience sound, we need the study of music as one of the disciplines of Ritual Studies that are required in this research project. But, as with liturgy and performance, we have to deal with a complex notion once more. This becomes evident as soon as one looks up the entry 'music' in different dictionaries and encyclopaedias: they provide a variety of definitions, each taking a different viewpoint; the one broad, the other more narrow. Again, a combination of disciplines is required to investigate a part of our research subject.[8]

We shall in this chapter examine the notion of sound and investigate which qualities of sound play a part in the performance of liturgy (sub question three). Therefore we will first focus on sound theories and consult disciplines that consider music as mere sound (4.2). Then we shall map the cultural characteristics of sound and try to gain an insight into West African, African-American and European approaches to sound (4.3). In doing so, we also focus on the performance aspects of sound.[9] This chapter will end with a short summary and several conclusions (4.4).

4.2 Music as sound

A quick look in an anthropological dictionary tells us that music is "meaningfully patterned sound that is analytically distinguishable from language, though the two are closely interrelated". As we shall see below, there is a close-knit interrelation between sound and language in West African music. Furthermore, "cross-cultural research supports Aristotle's observation that 'it is not easy to determine the nature of music.' " (BARFIELD 1997, 333). Besides the complex term 'performance', we now have a second knotty concept, which is not easy to define. The anthropologists are not the only ones who struggle with this problem. The familiar boundaries of the concept of music and its definitions are blurring in other disciplines as well, such as philosophy of music, psychology of music and musical studies. Descriptions of music have gone from fixed to open specifications of musical features: pieces of music are considered to have certain qualities. Scholars from these different disciplines have found a common view of music in so far that they describe music in terms of sound.

In the philosophy of music, viewpoints have, in recent years, moved away from music as 'tonal organization' to 'sound organization', from 'sound organization' to 'noise organization', from 'noise' to 'temporal' and from 'temporal' to 'spatial organization' (GROVE 2001, 19:621). The influence of post modernism on this field of study is evident:

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[8] One of the most important encyclopaedias of music, *The New Grove*, mentions the many different angles from which music can be investigated: "linguistic, biological, psychological, philosophical, historical, anthropological, theological and even legal and medicinal" (GROVE 2001, 17:425).

[9] The classical 'musical performance', a musicological tern referring to the skills of musicians and their performance professionalism, will be left aside here, for that is a separate issue which does not provide an answer to our research question.

principles and ideas are moving from unity, sameness and singularity to plurality, difference and diversity. To define the nature of things is thought to be impossible according to the prevailing spirit of the times.

The psychological study of music also describes music as ‘sound’. This discipline studies individual human musical thought and behaviour, expressed as activities concerning the perception and cognition of music. These activities relate to different qualities of sound, such as sensation; listening; performing; creating; memorizing; analysing; learning and teaching (GROVE 2001, 20:527). This list can be enlarged though, with qualities such as participation; visualization and affects (feelings, emotions and moods).

Musicology has been widening its scope considerably so it has come to include the study of music as sound among its subjects. It shows “a trend of increasing inclusiveness, perhaps even a kind of gluttony, in which all conceivable sound from the most central (such as Beethoven) to the most peripheral (elevated speech, sounds of whales, birdsong, industrial noise, backgrounds sounds for mass media advertising et cetera) are all appropriate subjects for musicological study” (GROVE 2001, 17:431). Thus, there is more to study than merely pieces of music. Musicology supplies instruments to examine qualities of sound in liturgy on the basis of the classical parameters of musical analysis: melody, rhythm, harmony, dynamics, tempo (VERNOOIJ 2002, 101). When we enlarge the paradigm of the parameters a little more, other qualities of sound come to mind, such as: instrumentation; acoustics; loudness (dynamics); timbre; tone movement (ambitus, ascending, descending, undulating movements, stepwise, skips and leaps); pitch; metre; form; silence.

We see that these disciplines provide us with different (kinds of) possible qualities of sound. The sound in the performance of liturgy will, in the empirical part of our PhD study, be mapped on the basis of these qualities.

4.2.1 ‘Musicking’

Aside from these qualities of sound, we have to focus on one other important aspect when we investigate sound in liturgy: it is performed. Organised sound (music) is made through the acting of a human being, either because he or she is playing an instrument, is using his or her voice (singing or otherwise), or is clapping hands or stamping feet, etcetera. Even if the organised sound is coming from loudspeakers so that we do not see someone performing the sound, we will still be hearing the sound as if it were *being made*, because we are focusing on the acoustical source (NIEUWKERK 2005, 48).[10] We picture a musician as if he or she were there: an acting human being, with whose gestures we may even identify ourselves. In this context, Van Nieuwkerk mentions how someone may play along with the music using an imaginary guitar (air guitar) or drum.

The sense of movement that comes with listening is intensified by the way we group tones: we picture them moving, upward and downward, or laterally, as if the tones are travelling towards a point of destination, or grow and diminish, (crescendo and decrescendo). Thus, musical sound is seen to be a process: the concatenated elements of sound and the way they are made, suggest movement.

[10] Van Nieuwkerk calls this with a Dutch word ‘hoorspelfictie’, which refers to the fiction of radio play.

Someone who is very keen on the performance aspect of music, is dr. Christopher Small, former senior lecturer at the Ealing College of Higher Education in London, and music expert. Over the years he has come to believe that it would be better not to speak about music as an object any longer. Music is not a thing, it is an action. Thus, we should not use a noun to refer to it, but a verb: 'to music'. However, Small uses this verb not merely to express the idea of performing, why he prefers this verb ("we already have verbs for that"), but "to express the idea of taking part in a musical performance" (SMALL 1995). Small came to this viewpoint through many years of questioning the nature of music and its function in daily life. He read Kant, Hegel, Schopenhauer and Adorno, Lucacs and Langer and Meyer, but could, in their aesthetics of music, not find satisfying answers to his questions for three reasons. In the first place, their theories are quite abstract and complicated. He could not believe that so universal and so concrete a human activity as music should require such complicated and abstract explanations, so remote from his own musical experience, as performer, listener, composer, and teacher. In the second place, these philosophers dealt more or less exclusively with music from a western 'high-art' tradition. They all accepted the presuppositions of this tradition as they are, without reservation. Thus, their theories are only relevant within context, i.e. the culture of western art music. In the third place, Small makes objection to their use of the word 'music':

> "one moment it is treated as if the art itself were a thing, with powers of growth and development and action, and then, suddenly, by a stealthy process of elision, the 'thing' becomes equated with those works of music which are the pride and the glory of western tradition. And then the assumption is quietly made that it is in those works, those music objects, that the nature and the meaning of music reside." (SMALL 1995).

In this kind of literature, the performers of music, though active members of the composer-performer-listener triad, are hardly ever mentioned: they are often represented as no more than a medium through which the work has to pass in order to reach its goal, the listener. The truth is, no music – whether live or on record – exists outside performance. All people make music, "in bathrooms and at political rallies, in supermarkets and churches, (…) discos and palaces, stadiums and elevators: it is performance that is central to the experience of music." (SMALL 1995). We must not think that a musical work is needed: to many of the great musical cultures in the world it is an alien concept. Not even a listener (other than the performer) is required: there being no listener does not prevent music from being made. Because, according to Small, one cannot have music unless someone is performing, the starting point of thoughts on the meaning of music lies not with musical works, but with performing.

It is for this reason that Small introduces the verb 'to music' (present participle: 'musicking') as a serious tool for the understanding of the act of music and its function in human life. To 'music' is

> "to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance. That means not only to perform, but also to listen, to provide material for a performance – what we call composing – to prepare for a performance – what we call practicing or rehearsing – or any other activity which can affect the nature of the human encounter" (SMALL 1995).

According to Small, we should certainly include dancing, should anyone be dancing. He even reckons that the selling of the tickets at the door, the shifting around of the piano by hefty

men, and the work of the cleaners who come in afterwards are part of musicking, since these activities all affect the nature of the event which is a musical performance. The fundament of music does not lie in the musical object, but in the act. There is no distinction between what the performers are doing and what the others are doing: every person present becomes a performer. Small's perception of musicking perfectly fits in with our conviction that liturgy, performance and sound are inextricably related to each other: they are all based on action and movement, everyone participates in his own way, and the participant's roles differ only in degree.

4.2.2 Ritual sound

A huge amount of literature has been published on liturgical music/church music. Much of it comes from the disciplines of musical history and church history and discusses the sound of ritual in the church of particular eras. This literature does not help us find an answer to the question which anthropological and theological aspects determine the role of sound in the performance of liturgy. More helpful are the questions that are asked in Ritual Studies. While mapping the field of ritual, Ronald Grimes, one of the most important academics in the field of Ritual Studies, has made a list of questions regarding the sound and language of ritual that is indeed very useful to our study. I am quoting his list here, as his questions are not only useful to the empirical part of our study, but also afford a broad insight into what is at stake in ritual. In addition, Grimes' questions help us think of sound as a synonym for music from the word go. All music is sound, but not all sound is music: sound also concerns unorganised 'noise'.

> "Does the ritual employ non-linguistic sounds such as animal sounds, shouting, or moaning? How does one learn them? Who interprets these sounds? Are words ever used causally or magically? Is language thought only to describe reality or actually to effect it? How are instrumental and vocal sounds related – chorally, in unison, antiphonally? What musical sounds and instruments predominate? How would you characterize their style? Are there discernible connections between rhythmic or musical patterns and social circumstances? Are any elements of the vocal or instrumental sounds archaic or imitative? What moods do the sounds most often evoke? What moods are avoided? Is there a distinction between sacred and secular music? What is the role of silence in the ritual? Are musicians sacred personages or only assistants? (…) Do the people consider it important to talk about the ritual, to talk during the ritual? (…) How important is language to the performance of the rite? (…) In what tones of voice do people speak? Do participants sing or chant things they never would say? At what points do words and actions seem in tension with one another, in harmony? (…) Do people use books during the ritual? How much of the language is spontaneous, how much, planned? What stories are told either verbally or gesturally in the ritual?" (GRIMES 1982, 26-27).

Many of these questions can, without any adjustment, be used in our research project. Some of Grimes' questions on language can easily be converted into questions on sound.

4.3 Cultural characteristics

This thesis started with a true story about a specific liturgy that sounded, in my opinion, bad. Although it made me feel miserable, although I disliked and even hated the sound, I was nevertheless able to understand it, or at least, to see it in perspective. I knew the West European culture from which the music stemmed, I was familiar with the use of the organ as accompaniment to the singing of the community – I have, in fact, be it in not quite the same way – and I had a nodding acquaintance with the underlying theology that determined the minister's elevated and aggressive tone of speech during the sermon. I am, however, sure that a Nigerian Yoruba woman, Christian or not, would have understood less of this sound of worship, and not only because she would not comprehend Dutch. She would probably be surprised at the melodic sound of the music, at the harmonic chords struck by the organist, at the fact that the community members sings a-rhythmically and softly, without clapping or stamping (or even rising from their seats).

It is obvious that sound is culturally influenced. With an eye to our empirical study of sound in the liturgy of three churches, we shall take a closer look at West African (4.3.1), African-American (4.3.2) and European (4.3.3) approaches to sound. We shall focus both on the place of sound in these cultures (including worship) and on some specific aspects of sound that are important in the respective cultures. This section often speaks of 'music', instead of sound, because of frequent quotation of musical research.

4.3.1 West African approach to sound

In this part, we first pay attention to the concept of sound in West African culture (4.3.1.1). As we shall see, holism is one of the kernel features of West African sound. Other important characteristics are music's meditating potential and the community aspect of sound. Subsequently, we will discuss some aspects that are important in West African sound (4.3.1.2).

4.3.1.1 Sound in West African culture

The first characteristic of the way Africans 'deal' with sound in their culture, is related to their world view. The holistic experience of the world and of life in general that is common in West Africa music is mirrored by a *holistic experience of music*. It is a tightly wrapped bundle that links sound to dance, instrumental playing and narration. As we said in our section about body motion in African culture and liturgy (3.4.1), Africans dance as a response to what happens in their lives: they dance in joy as well as in pain, they dance love as certainly as anger and hatred. Their music making is likewise a response to life. A blacksmith and ritual practitioner once said: "If you cry, then you must make music. Otherwise your heart will not be contented. If you are happy, you must perform. Otherwise your heart will not be contented." We must be aware that music and dance are not separate things. Music and dance are so closely intertwined, that it is difficult to separate song from movement or playing the drum from speech. In fact, none of the West African languages has an exact equivalent for the Western concept of 'music'. Rather, African terms hint in the direction of specific action, such as drumming, singing or dancing. The African term for performance is a broad one, that may encompass song as well as dance, oration as well as instrumental

playing. Thus, West Africans are, in their conceptualization, quite unfamiliar with the Western isolational view of music as solely sound. To them, an entire spectrum is involved.

The holistic view of sound also extends to the different possible musical idioms. The distinctions that Westerners make between 'folk', 'popular', 'religious' and 'art' music, have no significance in West Africa. Fusions of different elements are common, whether they come about through a combination of styles (indigenous African music combined with world beat, for example) or of instruments or techniques. As a result, we sometimes see "local West-African music blended with high-tech Euro-American popular music" (STONE 2005, 17).

As has been mentioned in section 2.3.1, Africans are unfamiliar to the duality of the 'sacred' and the 'secular': life and the spiritual world are inextricably bound together. It is thus easy to understand that popular and religious music have a fluid boundary and that there is no division between sacred and secular sound. To West Africans, sound is inherently spiritual, the sacred is inherently sonorous: both sound and the divine permeate every imaginable part of life. A classification based on the sacred and secular in music is useless, because the power of music lies in its aspect of giving meaning.

A second feature of West African sound is its significant *mediating role*. As we have mentioned, Africans sing and 'musick' their responses to life. "Sound (of speech, prayer or incantation, of song and music, and especially of the talking drum) is an important vehicle or symbol of rhythmic mediation in this complex universe." (UZUKWU 1997, 11). Thus, we can say that sound is one of the African responses to the impact of life. This statement is underlined by Floyd, when he says:

> "The aim of African music has always been to translate the experiences of life and of the spiritual world into sound, enhancing and celebrating life through cradle songs, songs of reflection, historical songs, fertility songs, songs about death and mourning and other song varieties." (Floyd, quoted in REED 2003, 5).

It is for this reason that Teresa Reed, associate professor of music in the United States, who spent her childhood surrounded by the music of the black Pentecostal Church, labels traditional (West) African music as functional: "[it] is used to facilitate and intensify life experiences. Its purpose is either to help things happen or to make things happen." (REED 2003, 4). Henry Weman, a Swedish cathedral organist and missionary in the African continent († 1992), also considers African sound to be functional, because it is part of everyday life: people sing whenever the occasion calls for it. "Music mirrors the soul of the African, and is an essential part of his inmost being; it has the power to liberate, and it is in the music and in the dance that the African can best be himself." (WEMAN 1960, 20). Although it is somewhat risky to use the term functionality in connection with the mapping of ritual dimensions (which we consider music to have), the authors mentioned rightly indicate that music is closely associated with attributing and appropriating meanings. Or to put it the other way around: in appropriation of meanings, music is always involved. These mediating qualities of music elucidate its significant importance and crucial role. A Liberian proverb is illustrative here. It says: "If you build a town and there is no drummer in it, then it is not a town." The proverb goes on to say: "If you build a town and there is no singer in it, then it is not a town." (STONE 2005, 4). Such a saying points to the central place of music in the lives of West Africans. Music performance is as important and as normal as walking, talking, eating or sleeping.

The third quality of sound in West Africa is again a feature that extends to life in general: it is a *social happening*. Making music together – especially in its most natural, artistic and spontaneous way: by the use of the voice – creates a bond of fellowship between people (the more so when they are members of the same tribe). From this social aspect, it follows that one does not make music on one's own. In West Africa, music is the concern of everyone. Performance of music in the sense of playing music *for* someone, is very uncommon: it is hardly possible to distinguish performers and audience. Africans play music *with* someone. Just as walking, talking, eating and sleeping are social activities, so is music, and therefore it is hardly ever performed alone. All take part in what is going on, there are seldom passive listeners. If someone starts singing a song, the others join in, and start dancing and hand-clapping. It is a way of recreation and diversion, but also a way of sharing joy, sorrow and pain. African music and dance, like African society, is a collective experience, and as such it is an important force that connects people.

Note again that we speak of 'a collective experience': music and dance are not a dual but a single experience. Likewise, singing and dancing, for example, is performed by the same people. This is not to say that all singers are also great dancers and vice-versa, but you can not do one without some basic skill at the other. Thus, and this underlines the social or collective dimension of sound, it is usual to see dancers and singers exchanging advice and correcting each other. Performers need one another: if the singer does not sing well, the dancer cannot dance well, as she will loose her enthusiasm and the performance will become dull and dead. Besides, the social aspect of sound intensifies the feeling of authenticity and strengthens the (group) identity.

We cannot discuss sound in West African cultures without mentioning an important group of persons, called the 'griots' (to be pronounced: gree-oos, from the French word *guiriot* or the Portuguese *criado*, meaning 'servant').[11] A griot is a poet and wandering musician-entertainer of West Africa whose performances include tribal histories and genealogies. Griots are members of a hereditary professional caste of praise singers, historians, musicians and orators. In old days griots were court musicians who sang praise of their renowned leaders, meanwhile telling the story of the region. Presently, they sing the history of tribes and families at a variety of social and religious occasions. Thus, griots (and griottes) are actually repositories of oral traditions. Their main task is to preserve history and to praise the deeds of their patrons. Doing so, they perform in many different ways: they sing, speak publicly, play instruments, recite history, tell stories, pose riddles for the audience to solve, do acrobatics and entertain. According to Joseph Hill, doctoral candidate at Yale's department of anthropology, any traditional gathering (child naming ceremony, marriage, etcetera) is incomplete without a corps of griots. "They speak on behalf of and about each family involved, provide entertainment and approach all the guests, praising them and often asking them for money." (HILL 2003).

The social status of griots is complex and ambiguous. They are either considered a very low or a very high caste, depending on whom you ask. As members of a so-called endogamous caste, they usually only marry other griots: their social status and occupation are, no matter how, inherited. Griots are in general quite happy and would probably not be interested in trading their place with people of other castes. They are not only considered

[11] Different African languages have different names. A griot can also be called a *jeli*, *jali*, *géwal*, *gawlo* or *igiiw*.

servants, but leaders as well. For one thing, this is because they have, by their profession, access to influential political positions, serving as advisers to heads of state. Because of this unique function, "griots enjoy almost complete freedom of expression, behaviour and movement. They are bound neither by etiquette, nor by the community's rules of common law, nor by most religious taboos." (Reed 2003, 115). In the second place, people assign authority to griots out of fear. They highly value their history, arts and entertainment and treat them generously, although not always voluntarily. In our need to elucidate the complexity and ambiguity of the social status of griots, we once again quote Joseph Hill:

> "Instead of participating actively in village affairs, they witness and mentally record the deeds of every person. Traditional griots are genealogists and can tell anyone in the village extensive information about who their ancestors were, where they were from, and what they had accomplished. Most of the deeds griots recounted are good ones, for they want to get on their patrons' good side to ensure generous compensation. However, many people are generous to griots not only out of gratitude for good words, but also out of fear that a griot will say negative things about them." (HILL 2003)

In pre-colonial times, traditional griots were, even more then today, responsible for the transmission of messages, by words or through communicative drum beats on an instrument with the revealing name 'talking drum'. But with the arrival of colonialism and urbanization, many of the contexts in which griots performed faded away. Many people, belonging to the griot-caste do not perform any of their art practices any longer. Nevertheless there are people who have tried to transform or modify the content of griot performing art, in order to make it survive in new contexts. They combine instruments and styles from different griot traditions, that would never have been used in combination before. Griots are more often active in popular music nowadays, where they dominate. Over two thirds of popular instrumentalists today are griots, while over 90% of popular singers are griots, as has been estimated by Joseph Hill, on the basis of interviews and album rosters (HILL 2003).

4.3.1.2 West African sound aspects

Many books have been written on African music and its characteristics. It would be impossible to go into all the aspects of sound on the West African continent. In this section, I will confine myself by elaborating on some of the main qualities. I wish to emphasize that the classification of aspects of sound is random, since all sound aspects dynamically relate to each other and could equally well be classified differently.

4.3.1.2.1 Song and musical instruments

When you mention the words 'African music', many people will first and foremost think of drums. This popular image, with its emphasis on African drumming and the accompanying complex rhythms does not concur with the findings of the specialists, who say that it is actually song that lies at the heart of African musical expression. There is a dissonance – to use a quite western concept – here. Scholars say that pride of place should be given to song and performed speech, because African music is rooted in and derived from language.

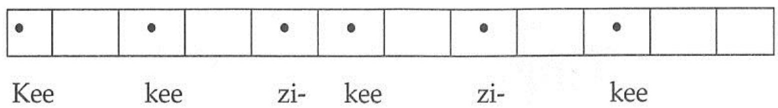
According to Kofi Agawu, professor of music at Princeton University, African sound should be understood as spoken language, in particular as regards its tonal and rhythmic contours and its metalinguistic function. In his study among the Northern Ewe people of Ghana, he says:

> "In the beginning was the word. Or so it appears in Northern Ewe culture. In city as well as village life, the verbal arts play a central part not only in situations of formal artistic expression but also in ordinary, everyday communication." (AGAWU 1995, 31)

The fact that rhythmic activity is considered the primary attribute of musical performance in (sub-Saharan) Africa, does therefore not primarily point to rhythm performed by musical instruments, but rather to the rhythm of language. Song, after all, "consists of a fusion or integration or amalgamation of words, or 'language' or 'text'." (AGAWU 1995, 2). So pure instrumental music is uncommon in African sound performance: accompanied song is the most prevalent music genre. Note that it is *song* that is accompanied (in this case by instrumental music), it is not that instrumental music is accompanied.

This may all be true, but we must add something. As we said, African music is rooted in language. However, Africans do not only speak by words. They also speak by rhythm. They talk with their drum (remember the instrument with the name 'talking drum'). The basic principle of this talking drumming is actually quite simple and uncomplicated: rhythmic and tonal patterns (see the sections on rhythm and timbre below) of spoken language are reproduced on a drum. I can best illustrate this by means of an experience of John Chernoff, specialist in African drumming, who once practiced with a Ghanaian boy. "I was following him well until he suddenly performed a rather complicated series of rhythms and then went back to the basic rhythm he was showing me. A few minutes later a man who has passed at that moment returned with two bottles of beer." (CHERNOFF 1979, 75). Apparently, the boy used the drums to tell the passer-by that he was thirsty, or to ask him for some beer.

West Africans use their *voice* not only to lead (by singing a song with words), but also to accompany. In this case, the voice is applied to produce vocables (words used without meaning) or linguistically meaningless syllables in order to accompany a melody. These vocables and syllables often function as memory aids; they are called 'mnemonic syllables' when they help to remember a rhythmic pattern. A possible pattern is reproduced below. This pattern is presented by means of the so-called Time Unit Box System (TUBS). This is a simple system for notating events that happen over a period of time. It is mostly used to notate rhythms in music, because it can easily show relationships between complex rhythms. The notation consists of one or more rows of boxes; each box represents a fixed unit of time. A mark in a box indicates that an event occurs at the beginning of that time interval, a blank box indicates that nothing happens during that interval. The pattern below consists of one syllable (kee) and one vocable (zikee); the pattern covers twelve intervals, in which six times a sound is made, as follows:



(STONE 2005, 80)

Singing syllables and vocables is one way by which West Africans accompany music with their voice. Another way is called ‘voice masking’. In this practice the voice is modified to produce deep chest growls, shrieks, false bass tones, buzzing timbres and other effects. The human voice is also used to imitate sounds of nature, such as bird calls or mating calls of animals, and to imitate musical instruments. Voice masking is often achieved by singing or talking through a musical instrument. The instrument is then used principally as a megaphone, which leaves the identity of the person who masks the voice unrecognizable (KEBEDE 1995, 5).

Notwithstanding the stress on the importance of the voice, the inhabitants of West Africa play a range of indigenous and imported instruments. They play lutes, harp lutes, zithers, rattles, plucked lamellophones (thumb piano’s) and struck instruments of many forms. The appendix lists the most important African instruments and their characteristics. Here we just mention the instrument that is probably most famous: the drum. Africans know a very large variety of drums. They can be single or double headed and be played with the hands or with sticks. We find goblet drums, square drums, cylindrical, conical and hexagonal drums as well as drums that have the form of an hourglass. Beside the drums, electric guitars and synthesizers are increasingly becoming part of musical ensembles, due to the ongoing process of globalization.

It is interesting to see that West Africans relate to their instruments in a way that is rather uncommon to Europeans. Africans consider their instruments to be more than material objects: they are often seen as quasi-human, as the instruments take on human features. According to Stone:

> “These instruments, usually played by master musicians, may be given personal names, kept in special houses and ‘fed’ sacrificial food. In West Africa, people classify musical instruments according to their own (local) categories. These categories can differ enormously: instruments are labelled according to the way they produce sound (compare our aerophones and membranophones, for example) or according to their male or female attributes which are emphasized. But many people label individual instruments with social predicates, such as queen, chief, mother or child.” (STONE 2005, 19-20).

4.3.1.2.2 Song themes

Music is part of African everyday life. That is why there are lots of different song themes. Work with continually repeated rhythmical movements is easily accompanied by a work song. Africans readily sing while chopping or sawing wood, or while sowing and harvesting. Other song themes are, for instance: enthusiasm songs, which consist of cheers and exhortations to enliven a performance; personal growth songs, that guide individual development; ethical conduct songs, which are often repeated social lessons; morale and self-esteem songs, to find dignity when adversity is being faced; children’s counting songs; leadership or role-model songs, which praise great leaders of present and past; mourning songs, that are commissioned for the funerals of important individuals; political action songs, that incite armies that gather people to fight injustice; religious instruction songs, which contain rules for various ritual situations (GORLIN 2000, 20-21). One might think that African only sing songs with a positive message. This is certainly not the case: there are insult

songs and bawdy songs as well as we-are-sanctioned songs, the texts of which are sometimes quite plain: "We will do what we have planned. The most important people say we're doing a good job. If you don't wish us success, why not go somewhere and die?" (KEBEDE 1989, 4).

4.3.1.2.3 Improvisation

We will briefly pay attention to the phenomenon of improvisation. This is a widespread and richly developed feature of African music. While the performance of music in the Western classical tradition often depends on written or printed texts and scores – that are thoroughly rehearsed – Africans improvise their music. This does not imply a random or 'free playing', in the sense of a total on-the-spot invention; it means that African music performers are free to invent anew when it is appropriate. Small illustrates this on the basis of the West African drum ensemble leader, or master drummer, who

> "has spent his apprentice years playing the supporting drum rhythms, and his performance consists of improvised variations on those rhythms, simple at first and then with increasing complexity, in such a way as to make the development of each out of its predecessor clear and audible to all." (SMALL 1987, 293-294).

The master drummer has to give form and organization to what already exists, more than to invent new rhythms. Improvisation in African music is not intended to draw attention – that would be un-African: it would mean that one person takes the spotlight, and this would conflict with the communal character of African musicking. Every musician regards himself as responsible for the social progress of the event. Improvisation is thus not only a response to the 'inner necessities' of the sound world the musician is creating, but also a response to the dynamics that surround him. As Small says: "It is his task to create not just a single set of sound perspectives which are to be contemplated and enjoyed by listeners, but a multiplicity of opportunities for participation along a number of different perspectives." (SMALL 1987, 295). This social purpose in the performance of music is absent in Western classical music, where the individual response to an independent sound-object or musical entity is of prime importance. By improvising, African musicians keep possibilities open and modify the performance as it goes along. This enables them to pick up the sense of an occasion, bring it into focus in the performance and enhance it for the greater social and spiritual benefit of all. This African aspect has been passed on to African-American musicians, and is clearly recognizable in a style like the blues.

4.3.1.2.4 Rhythm

The European time-scheme, which is based on a *quantitative system* of note values, leaves Africans unmoved: their own rhythms are vital for their indigenous sound. We can best explain the African approach to rhythm by referring to the above-mentioned vocables and syllables. These vocables or syllables are spoken in *qualitative relationship* to each other. This 'system' is thus not based on meters but on different sound patterns, which are characterised by different internal relationships of their units.

West African indigenous music is well known for polyrhythmic, multilayered sounds. But there appears to be one 'standard rhythm' in West Africa: a sound pattern which fits in with

other patterns that are played simultaneously. As a 'structural core', 'timeline' or 'time keeper', this sound pattern functions as a link between different patterns. Thus, it is used as a reference point for singers, players and dancers to synchronize their sounds and movements. The timeline is often played on a double bell or just on a shaped piece of iron or even on beer bottles that are struck with the back end of a pen knife. The pattern becomes recognizable through the timbre of the distinctive and penetrating metal sound (STONE 2005, 83).

The standard pattern of West Africa is, with some variations, found more widely in Africa. Still head and tail – the first, third and tenth unit – are always the same (the tenth unit sometimes shows an off beat). We once more use the Time Unit Box System to show which small variations are found:

Kpelle—Liberia

•		•		•	•		•		•		

Ewe—Ghana

•		•		•	•		•		•		•

Mahi—Dahomey

•		•		•	•		•		•		•

Swahili—Tanzania

•		•			•		•		•		

Hausa—Nigeria

•		•		•		•			•		

Yoruba—Nigeria

•		•		•	•		•		•		•

Akan—Ghana

•		•			•		•				

Babenzele—Central African Republic

•		•		•	•		•		•	•	

Mende—Sierra Leone

•		•		•	•		•		•	•	

(STONE 2005, 82)

As has been mentioned, these and other patterns are often combined. Ruth Stone observed that

> "the parts fit together like jigsaw puzzle. That is, there is one, and only one, placement according to the musicians with whom I've worked. In other words, it matters a great deal how each part aligns with the other. Each part is a distinctive rhythmic pattern that fits in one, and only one, precise way with the other parts." (STONE 2005, 84).

The vocal soloist and the master drummer are the ones who, by improvisation, constantly vary their parts, while the other performers carefully craft a steady structure of sounds.

The effect of the matching of patterns can be twofold. From a horizontal viewpoint, we observe polyrhythm, which is: many rhythmic patterns sounding at the same time. The vertical viewpoint reveals, for instance, the tension of a hemiola (the vertical placement of 2 against 3). This tension comes with the 2 against 3, not with the underlying beat. From a European perspective, this is difficult to understand. The reason for this is the fact that European music is based on a downbeat (the beat that gets the metric accent), just like a house is based on a concrete foundation. Here tension arises when a specific pattern does not fit together with the downbeat. This is different from the African rhythmic organization, which can, according to Stone, be compared to a tent: "The stakes in the ground hold ropes that depend upon tension between them to hold up the structure. African performance frequently depends upon multiple points of organization rather then a singular focus." (STONE 2005, 84). Thus, timeline is one of the multiple reference points for performers to rely on. So within a certain framework, there is a lot of space for improvisation.

4.3.1.2.5 Timbre

The mnemonics that, as we have mentioned, are used within the scope of song, do not only concern the rhythmic aspect of a sound pattern. Besides timing, the tone colour of sound is important in these patterns as well.[12] The emphasis on African rhythm has somewhat overshadowed the importance of timbre. Still, according to the ethnomusicologist James Koetting "the importance of sonority cannot be overemphasized" (quoted in STONE 2005, 47). Just as a drummer needs to learn rhythmic patterns, he needs to learn patterns of timbre. Timbre is important to understanding rhythmic patterns; a pattern of timbres can help learning rhythms. So there clearly is an internal connection between rhythm and timbre.

Different tone colours are produced in different ways. In speech, tone colours exist because words and syllables of words are pronounced on different tone levels. Agawu simply distinguishes low (L), medium (M) and high (H) tone levels. His uses his own name to clarify this: the syllables À-gà-wú are to be pronounced low-low-high (LLH, the last syllable is stressed). The combination of different tone levels produces different tone patterns: from LLL, HHH and LLH to MMH and MHH. These tone patterns are even richer than one might suppose on the basis of description. This because the phonology of Ewe negotiates the gaps between tone levels: it shows falling and rising glides or glissandi (AGAWU 1995, 38). Glides are sometimes made in correspondence with the meaning of the words (structural glides), but they may also depend on the mood or circumstance of the speaker (non-structural glides). Another way of producing different tone colours with the human voice is voice masking.

Musical instruments produce different timbres in different ways. The voice of the drum begets various timbres, depending on where the drummer places her hands, depending on which part of her hands she uses to strike the skin of the drum, depending on whether she cups her hands or not. These different sounds can be enriched by other layers of timbres, for

[12] More information on the concept of timbre is found in section 4.3.3.2.3: timbre and musical instruments.

instance, by combining a pattern of drum timbres with the jingling of bells. Within this jingling of bells, one can also develop a sound pattern. Interesting is the musical bow, which is played by encircling a bowstring with the mouth. By means of the cavity that is thus formed, the sound is able to resonate and a tone is produced. When the shape of the mouth changes, overtones are heard (STONE 2005, 54). These overtones are so strong, that it seems as if two fundamental pitches are being played. Similarly, on all kinds of instruments subtle manipulations can make a nuanced change to the sound. By varying the tones, adding lower or higher layers of tone colour and adjusting them, a multilayered sound is developed. This shading of sounds and the performance of various colours of tones enrich African music in their own way.

4.3.1.2.6 Musical forms

In connection with what we said above about the community aspect of singing and dancing, of society actually, we should mention here a well known form of West African music making and dancing: the call and response or responsorial form. The whole society is steeped in the consciousness that everything requires cooperation to succeed, and this also applies to music making. This means that when a song leader, a master drummer or a band leader makes a call or a gesture, the others immediately respond with a new chorus, drum pattern or dance movement. It is a way of structuring performance that Africans find aesthetically pleasing.

The responsorial form shows a variety of possibilities. It is used in both vocal and instrumental music. Each instrument seems to have its own role: "the goblet drum is like the solo singer and the gbung-gbung [two-headed cylindrical drum, MK] is like the supporting singer" (STONE 2005, 64). Sometimes one instrument is played by two players, sitting opposite one another at the same instrument. The first player starts playing the leading piece, than the other starts interweaving a second part. It is also possible that one person plays a responsorial form on his own.

Stone distinguishes two types of call and response: an *overlapping* and a *non-overlapping* type. An overlapping call and response occurs in musical dramatic folktales. The non-overlapping type is for example used in work songs, such as a rice planting song. The rhythm of the work (consisting of hoeing and preparing the soil) is the same for both soloist and chorus. Physical work was energized by song as much as song was energized by work. In this example the time interval between the soloist's call and the chorus' response were fixed, but these intervals can also be non-fixed. In that case, the phrases are of variable length and the soloist alerts the chorus by a descending melodic line or the injecting of syllables like "ee" or "oo". (STONE 2005, 67). Stone discerns that this part-counterpart relationship extends beyond music performance and is found within political and social 'systems' as well. This agrees with the claim that African societies are steeped in the consciousness that cooperation is needed to succeed in anything. The only area where part-counterpart has less importance is in popular music. This is because this style of music is influenced by Western popular music, where a star performer is in the centre of interest. Note that this corresponds with the Westernization of Africa(n music) that we have mentioned in the first chapter of this thesis.

Ashenafi Kebede adds another distinction with regard to the responsorial style. The plainest kind of responsorial singing is the *simple response* or *imitational response*. It is performed by two singers (or a single leader and a group response). The second (group of) performer(s) directly imitates or duplicates the part of the first performer. Another form of call and

response is *antiphonal*, a term which points to a chorus-chorus alternation: two groups perform independent (and often overlapping) parts and thus answer each other, while each chorus sings polyphonically. This often creates complex forms and textures. A texture refers to the layers of sound that are heard simultaneously in a music performance. Usually three basic types of textures are distinguished: monophony (literally: 'one sound', referring to a single melodic line); homophony ('same-sounding', which means that the one melodic line is accompanied by other harmonic parts, all – to a high degree – moving in the same rhythm); polyphony ('many-sounding', meaning that various independent melodic lines are heard simultaneously). These textures can shift from one kind into another during a musical performance, although this is not a very common occurrence (KEBEDE 1989, 7).

The last musical form Kebede mentions, involves a certain sound pattern which is highly valued in West Africa. When hocketing (from the French *hoquet* and Latin *hoquetus*, = 'hiccup'), musicians combine short sound facets to create a synchronized world. It is done with musical instruments, but also with the human voice. This way of performing means is also called 'faceting'. It works as follows: each player of a musical instrument plays a very short motif, no more than one or two notes long, that he connects (like a chain) with the other short motif of his fellow player. This chain results in a pattern (an ostinato, or repeated motif). All of these patterns together are combined to create a multi-ostinato. This faceting is much appreciated (STONE 2005, 30).

The concept of faceting sounds or objects is, however, not just restricted to instrumental musical sound. The form is used in dance: a pattern of short steps in a rapid pace, followed by other patterns – the drum playing the pattern that the feet are dancing. Each successive pattern becomes more multidimensional, from simple forward and backward movements to the addition of circles and vertical jumps. The form is used in the arts as well, such as in the weaving of cloth: cotton thread is used to make narrow strips, several inches wide. Afterwards, these units are sewn together to create large cloths. The entire design is composed of many smaller pieces and designs, that contribute to the total picture.

The faceting form is also used in song and speech. As one singer once explained: "We take one word, and we turn it, turn it." (STONE 2005, 40). Spoken word shows facet aspects as well. A greeting sequence, for instance, often consists of frequent turn-taking and short phrases of each speaker. A response is sometimes nothing more than just "Mm", but it is part of a chain, it connects and interlocks with the speaking partner. These patterns, in less or more extensive forms, occur a couple of times a day.

4.3.1.2.7 Recent developments in sound aspects

As will be understood, the African continent has been influenced by an explosion of technological developments, as have other parts of the world. The extent of aural and visual contact has been intensified at both national (interethnic) and international levels. Mass communication (through newspapers, magazines, radio, television and film and, last but not least, the World Wide Web) that went hand in hand with these technological developments, made a significant contribution to this change. People from different roots and cultures have been enabled to listen to each other and exchange sound and pictures, ideas and creativity, through a global dissemination of information. It is clear that these developments have changed all cultures, even the ones who consider(ed) themselves as immune to exterior influences (possibly due to their supposed higher standard of civilization).

These developments in the field of communications media were key in speeding up the process of music change. On the African continent, users of short wave radios (who mostly live in the cities) are familiar with the European BBC and other international radio stations. According to Kebede, the popularity of radio in Africa has caused a marked decline in music making, threatening the very existence of the traditional forms of music (compare what we said above, about the changing role of griots):

> "The audience for Western popular music has increased dramatically. In most of Africa where the music of oral tradition is closely linked to dance, drama, poetry and other subtle symbolic attributes, culture can be preserved and promoted only through active performance and audience participation, definitely not by passively listening to radios. Programs are produced according to consumers demand; audiences often prefer American pop, disco or urban music." (KEBEDE 1995, 110).

Kebede discusses in the phenomenon of commercialism, which he considers to have taken advantage of the continuing increase in consumption by mass-producing music types that appeal to millions of people around the world. He takes a somewhat negative view and considers traditional African and Western popular music as opposite forces. Stone, on the other hand, discovered African performers who tried to integrate different styles (STONE 2005, 30-35). They had an eclectic style, borrowing sounds from other African countries, wearing African haircuts and bell-bottom trousers at the same time (this was in the nineteen seventies). They implemented the very western idea of a star singer – a prominent soloist – into their own performance and combined it with elements from indigenous musical practices. So the question is whether the globalization should be considered to be a threat or an enrichment.

Remarkable changes that Kebede discerns in music particularly occur in large cosmopolitan cities on the African continent. He describes new styles of music that blend elements of different cultures, specifically African and European. These new styles are referred to as *neo-folk*, *acculturated* or *urban music*. The European elements in it include

> "the performance of music on stage, the construction and use of theatres for music and dramatic presentations, a fee-paying audience to attend performances, salaried performers and establishment of dance groups and marching bands" (KEBEDE 1995, 113).

Other external elements that are introduced into urban music, come from Latin-America, the Middle East and Asia, as well as from the urban music of other adjacent African countries.

4.3.2 African-American approach to sound

This part focuses on the concept of sound in African-American culture and worship. As we shall see, African-American sound is of great importance to our research in several ways. In the first place, the African-American 'beat' has conquered the world: all current popular music originates from the blues, that has its roots in the sounds of African-American people. In the second place, the African-American sound is important because there are lots of evangelical, Pentecostal and charismatic immigrant churches in Amsterdam Southeast. Their

spirituals and gospels can be heard throughout the whole world by now, and are increasingly popular and influential.

In this section, we will first discuss the background of African-American sound (4.3.2.1). As we shall see, it is deeply rooted in West African sound. Blues originated from there and developed into an independent genre. Here, we also pay attention to the 'Praise and Worship Movement', which evolved from African-American Churches (among others, such as Methodist revivalism and the Holiness movement). Then we will further elaborate some of the sound features of these movements (4.3.2.2).

4.3.2.1 Sound in African-American culture and worship

The roots of African-American sound are principally (West) African. Enslaved inhabitants of West and Central Africa were transported to the Americas and the Carribean by traders on the Trans-Atlantic slave route between circa 1600 and 1807 – the year in which the slave trade was abolished in the United Kingdom, and the United States. These slaves – whose descendants are now called African-Americans – had their origin in various ethnic groups of Senegal, Gambia, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Ivory Coast, Togo, Benin, Nigeria, Cameroon, Gabon and Western Congo. Their ability to endure, and their spiritual strength, enabled Africans to survive in slavery. Music was of great importance here: they preserved the music and the musical values they had brought with them, notwithstanding the involuntary departure from their homelands and the inhumane treatment they received from the slave traders and owners (STONE 2005, 21). Although slavery had torn them away from their material culture and their social and political institutions, their music, dance, oral poetry, folk tales survived, as did their African world view (SMALL 1987, 33-35). This background is essential in understanding why African-American music shares certain style and sound characteristics with (West) African music.

Anthropological and ethnomusicological studies generally distinguish three theories: a theory of *survival*, a theory of *non-survival* and a theory of *compromise* (KEBEDE 1995, 128-129). The survival theory claims that African features have survived in all aspects of black American culture, including religious and social attitudes, language (syntax, intonation and accent), names, puns, tales, stories, dance, music. "The agile and impressive movements of (…) black Americans in athletics, ballet and dance, their verbal virtuosity and use of double meaning and imagery in speech (often misunderstood as evasion), and, of course, an outstanding sense of rhythm are among the most frequently cited examples of Africanisms in black American culture." (KEBEDE 1995, 128). Supporters of the survival theory maintain that during the above-mentioned period of slavery, a birth of powerful musical expression has taken place. A birth, conceived as the black man's struggle for his survival and freedom. According to Samuel A. Floyd Jr., founder, director emeritus of and consultant for the Center for Black Music Research at Colombia College Chicago, there is much more to the African survival theory: he believes that

> "the musical tendencies, the mythological beliefs and assumptions, and interpretative strategies of African-Americans are the same as those that underlie the music of the African homeland [and] that these tendencies and beliefs continue to exist as African cultural memory, and that they continue to inform the continuity and elaboration of African-American music." (FLOYD 1995, 5).

The second theory denies the survival of African features in black American culture and claims that black Americans have absorbed, adopted, learned and borrowed everything in their culture – their whole lifestyle included – from the Euro American culture.

The third theory strikes a compromise between the survival and the non-survival theory. It claims that European and African musical traditions have both affected the sound of black American culture. Out of the European and African traditions an American Negro style came to development: the (Negro) spirituals. Certain elements within these traditions conflicted and some were initially ousted. An example of the latter is the fact that slave owners prohibited their slaves from making body movements during Christian worship, because in the European tradition dance in liturgy was forbidden. This third theory is the most plausible and explains, for example, the European influence on spirituals: Africans that were, due to suppression, forced to express themselves in other than native ways. They had to 'invent' songs their masters would accept. So, they sung songs which resembled European melodies and set these melodies to English (mainly biblical) texts. Most of these spiritual texts are sorrowful and have an eschatological outlook: they refer to a release from earthly cares in heaven (MILLER 2006, 365).

4.3.2.1.1 Blues

A musical style that is of eminent importance in the history of African-American sound is *blues*. Although it is impossible to date its origin exactly, blues first appears around the beginning of the twentieth century. Blues is sometimes described as "a secular African-American folk music" (GROVE ONLINE, entry: blues), but that is somewhat over-simplified, as we shall see. The blues style had a major influence on later American and Western styles, such as *ragtime* (syncopated rhythms with rhythmic accents on the weak beats), *jazz* (improvisation, blue notes, syncopation, call-and-response form, swing and polyrhythms), *rhythm 'n blues* (upbeat popular music, combining jazz, gospel and blues), *reggae* (a mix of the African Caribbean sound tradition and rhythm 'n blues), *rock 'n roll* (electric guitar, bass guitar, drum set and often piano or keyboard, combining elements of blues, boogie woogie, jazz, rhythm 'n blues with influences from Appalachian folk music, gospel, country and western, and fusing heavily rhythmic African shuffles with melody-driven European genres), *hip hop* (rap music, combining rapping and scratching, telling semi-autobiographic tales in an rhythmic lyrical form, using alliteration, assonance and rhyme), *country music* (an amalgam of popular musical forms with roots in traditional folk music, Celtic music, blues and gospel music). According to Small, these seemingly disparate styles of music resulted from the collision in North and South America, during and after the times of slavery, between two great groups of musical cultures – that of Europe and that of Africa. These styles contain elements of both (SMALL 1987, 3).

Since blues has been a basis for many of these later styles (SMALL 1987, 12), we shall focus on its roots. As the origin of blues is closely related to the holistic world view of the African slaves, we will also consider religious developments connected with African-American sound. As the African slaves, who arrived in the colonies, were unfamiliar to the concepts *sacred* and *secular*, they sang their spirituals inside the church building, but also outside: they used the spirituals as rowing songs, field songs, work songs and social songs. In addition, camp or bush meetings were a common type of religious gathering for black people during

slavery (REED 2003, 7). These meetings were religious and social events at the same time. They were known as "the invisible black church" or "the invisible institution", referring to the place where this church resided: not in the liturgies or buildings of the white, but in the slaves themselves.

The position of the black American preacher is in some respects similar to that of the African griot. During the period before the American Civil War, the black preacher (either male or female) appears as a leadership person who is considered both an elder and a servant in relation to the slave community. This position resembles the position of the African griot, whose social status is similarly ambiguous. The black American preacher, to whom respect and authority were attributed, was recognized both by whites and blacks as the principal mouthpiece of his or her fellow bondsmen (REED 2003, 115). He or she passed information through stories, sermons and songs. The slave preacher had to do more than just preach. He was also expected to lead his followers into spirit possession, a kind of ecstasy that helped the slaves cope with their harsh situation. Slave preachers were often recognized for their ability to sing and the congregation depended on their musical leadership during worship.

After the American Civil War (1861-1865), numerous black churches were founded. Their establishment at the end of the 19th century should be seen against the backdrop of a national religious climate which at that time was dominated by three connected movements: Evangelism, the Holiness movement and Pentecostalism. These movements had an enormous collective impact upon African-Americans. A large number of black denominations developed from them. Teresa Reed claims that they had a common interest in enforcing a definite distinction between the world and the church, and, therefore, between practices that were allowed in church and those that were not (think of African features related to sound, such as spontaneity, emotional intensity and dance). But there was another reason to enforce such codes. "At a time when they had little, if any, hope of achieving social, political or economic equality with whites, the adherence to strict religious codes gave many blacks a sense of moral superiority over whites."(REED 2003, 8). Aside from the manifestation of the black church, the latter part of the 19th century is also marked by a shift in black consciousness. Where before a preoccupation with the afterlife, as expressed in spirituals, had been prevalent, now the immediate problems of survival came into focus. This was the beginning of blues. Blues became a way for blacks to vent one's feelings concerning all sorts of problems, such as poverty, homelessness, alienation, lovesickness, but also to vent feelings of joy. Although religiosity was still being referred in these blues themes, it was not the focus of the music. However, the older generation, whose most familiar songs were spirituals, had no appreciation for this music.

The distinction between music that was appropriate for use in black churches and music that was not, was intensified by the rise of the blues. Indeed, several black performers now had a double career, both as secular blues musician and – under pseudonym – as performer of sacred blues. Thomas Dorsey (1899-1993), an important blues man who is often called 'the father of gospel music', simply fused blues ethos with sacred texts, from which an extremely popular genre developed: *gospel blues*. Black urban churchgoers in the nineteen thirties loved this music. The connection of blues and gospel was very natural to Dorsey. He stated that, if a man has lost a woman, the blues is the natural way for him to express his feelings. It is the same with gospel: "Now you're not singing blues; you're singing gospel, good news song, singing about the Creator; but it is the same feeling, a grasping of the heart." (Dorsey, cited in REED 2003, 11).

Initially, around 1900, blues singing was associated with moral decline. An article in Current Opinion in 1919 characterized the blues as

> "the little songs of the wayward, the impenitent sinners, of the men and women who have lost their way in the world. "Blues" are for the outlaws of society; they are little plaintive or humorous stanzas of irregular rhythm set to music not of the conservatories. (…) The loser at craps, the luckless in sport, the mourner for rum, the profiteer in things forbidden whom the law has evicted, the sick and lonely woman – all these have their appropriate blues." (quoted from REED 2003, 9).

Some ten years later, not only blues was disdained by the elite but also jazz and ragtime, because of biases against the "lower" class people that produced these kinds of music and against music in improvisatory rather than notated form. The working class, who had a considerable presence in Holiness and Pentecostal denominations, struck a different note, claiming that religion was a corporeal and emotional experience, stressing that music was a way of giving praise and assigning a religious meaning to upbeat rhythms (REED 2003, 34). Pentecostalism was even the primary spiritual influence upon the pop music of the nineteen fifties, judging by the performances of artists who were involved in Pentecostalism: Elvis Presley, Jerry Lee Lewis, Little Richard, Sam Cooke, James Brown, B.B. King and Tina Turner (REED 2003, 28). In the nineteen eighties things, Christopher Small described the way he discovered African-American music. He notes that the African-American musical sound, which is based on both European and African traditions, fulfilled in him "not only an emotional, but also an intellectual and a social need which European classical music, however much I loved and admired much of it, did not, and if I was honest, never had fulfilled." (SMALL 1987, 3).[13] Nowadays, despite the fact that blues is no longer exclusively African-American, the importance of blues and its impact on Western culture are evident. We do now, more than ever, understand the complex interweaving of African and European musical and cultural traditions through which African-American music has developed.

4.3.2.1.2 'Praise and Worship' music

Originating forth from African slavery, African-American worship is – besides Methodist revivalism and the Holiness movement – one of the roots of the so-called 'Praise and Worship Movement'. Robb Redman uses this term to summarize the ways of worship of evangelical, Pentecostal and charismatic churches (REDMAN 2002, 22). Their worship is emotional, exuberant, highly participatory (without clergymen conducting their services) and focused on community.[14] Participation is expressed in worship music and emotional and physical expression: "worshippers are expected to sing, clap hands, raise their hands in adoration, and even sway and dance" (REDMAN 2002, 39). These churches certainly are

[13] Small uses the term *(European) classical music* in a popular sense, pointing to the music of the European concert, church and opera tradition since about 1600 as performed today by symphony orchestras, concert soloists and chamber ensembles, as well as by opera companies, and including the music of the post-world war two *avant garde* and its offshoots and successors (SMALL 1987, 6).

[14] Remember the African connection of life with the spiritual world, their view of life as a whole and the connectedness of families and tribes, which also extends to worship as a community act. Compare section 2.3.1.

known for their enthusiastic singing and response. Praise and worship music must be easy to learn and enable worshippers to express praise and worship to God. The liturgy as celebrated by praise and worship groups and churches, can be described as a flowing stream (in contrast to the "start-stop feel of Protestant Worship", REDMAN 2002, 34), with only a few distinguishable sections: congregational singing, prayer and announcements, the sermon and sometimes a 'ministry time' of prayer and charismatic activity. The first section, that of congregational singing, is very important in praise and worship. Barry Liesch speaks of this part as a *free-flowing praise*. He discerns two models of it: the approach of the charismatic Vineyard churches and a neo-Pentecostal approach.[15] The structure of the free-flowing-praise in Vineyard worship has five phases: (1) invitation, (2) engagement, (3) exaltation, (4) adoration, and (5) intimacy. This progression leads to a desired objective, which is attained in the last phase: 'intimacy with God'. In Vineyard churches, the crucial quality of church music is that it evokes specific experiences in a community: a sacred intimacy. It focuses on the encounter with God and on the affections, and does not refer to anything outside the worship context. Worship thus brings about an emotional and mental receptivity to God's will. Furthermore, worship must express familiar feelings and must evoke consolation (VERSTEEG 2001, 111-112). The neo-Pentecostal progression of free-flowing-praise follows five other phases, borrowed from the ancient Jewish tabernacle and temple worship: (1) outside the camp, (2) through the gates with thanksgiving, (3) into His courts with praise, (4) onto the Holy Place, (5) in the Holy of Holies. Again, the fifth phase is the desired objective, the other phases lead up to it.

The role of the worship leader is significant in the Praise and Worship Movement. The worship leader considers himself worshipper first, then musical leader. His role and responsibility is quite different from those of the music director in a traditional Protestant church. A worship leader primarily focuses on God, then on the music and/or the congregation's singing. As Redman says:

> "The pastor frequently delegates selection and arrangement of songs to the worship leader, who then makes important decisions during the free-flowing praise, such as whether to add or drop a song, when to invite the congregation to sit or stand, and when and how long to encourage singing in the Spirit. The worship leader is also expected to lead in other elements of the service, such as spoken prayer, giving liturgical instruction, and exhortation." (REDMAN 2002, 37)

We must discuss one significant issue: the distinction between praise and worship. These terms reflect a theological view of the presence of God in worship and of the worshipper's approach to God. Mainstream evangelicals consider praise to be an element of worship, but neo-Pentecostals and charismatic worshippers regard praise and worship as two phases in the progression of free-flowing praise (although they are not mutually exclusive). Peter Versteeg, who carried out research in a Dutch charismatic church, describes three aspects that are basic to Vineyard worship. First, praise is *about* God, whereas worship is directed *to* God. This implies that worship music basically consists of love songs, which in a very personal and intimate way, express what is felt about God. Second, "worship is the most important thing a believer can do", since worship is an act that is exclusively intended to

[15] We further examine these approaches, their structures and their musical features in section 4.3.2.2.3.

glorify God. Third, worship is seen as communication between the believer and God, a mutual process of declaring love for each other (VERSTEEG 2001, 115).

Bob Sorge, a neo-Pentecostal pastor and writer, discerns six points of distinction between praise and worship. First, God does not need our praise; he seeks worshippers. Second, worship is intimate and requires a relationship. Third, worship can be hidden to the observer, praise necessarily has external features. Fourth, praise is a horizontal and/or communal interaction, worship a vertical and individual interaction with God. Fifth, praise is often exuberant and expressive, whereas worship is more quiet and introverted (REDMAN 2002, 37-38).

4.3.2.2 African-American sound aspects

In this section, we confine ourselves to the sound characteristics of three important musical movements: the situation of African slaves and the indigenous features of the music they brought along when they were enslaved (4.3.2.2.1), the characteristics of blues (4.3.2.2.2) and 'Praise and Worship' sound features (4.3.2.2.3).

4.3.2.2.1 African features

In our section on West African sound, we mentioned work songs, the rhythms of which often accompanied the rhythms of physical work (compare *Song themes* and *Musical forms*). Now African-American slaves also sang while working, but the causes and circumstances were rather different. These sounds are important to the history of origin of African-American sound.

Slaves that worked in the fields were absolutely not allowed to talk to each other. Therefore, they attempted to convert speech into song. They used *calls*. Since these were used for communication, they were often sung solo. As a means of communication, calls were very effective, because their sounds travel over long distances in the fields and echo through mountains and hills. Undoubtedly, these calls have African roots. At the American plantations, they would have different functions: to attract attention (1), to warn an inattentive friend at a distance of the approaching white overseer (2) to break a long monotonous silence (3), to summon slaves to work (4), to eat (5) or to gather (6). (KEBEDE 1995, 129). Slaves passed the word for a worship gathering in the camp with calls like "Get you ready there's is a meetin' here tonight" and "Steal away to Jesus" (REDMAN 2002, 26).

Other sounds that could be heard at American plantations at the time, were *cries*. These were not meant to be in any way instrumental, but were expressions of deeply felt emotional experiences, such as loneliness, lovesickness and also hunger. These cries were half-sung, half-yelled; their melodies are performed in free and improvisational style, vocables are mixed with the text, they apply many African vocal aspects, such as tonal glides and melismas (KEBEDE 1995, 130).

The *shout* is also an African-American sound that has plain African roots. Since the late 18th century, shouts were often heard after African-American worship services, where they accompanied the singing of spirituals (REED 2003, 18). Emotional shouts went together with moans, religious dancing and hand-clapping and foot-stamping. In case of *ring shouts*, people would sing, form a circle and move in one direction, counter clockwise. Reed quotes a vivid

description of the ring shout from the 1867 collection *Slave Songs of the United States*, where the editor notes:

> "The true 'shout' takes place on Sundays or on 'praise' nights during the week, or either in the praise-house or in some cabin in which a regular religious meeting has been held. Very likely more than half the population of the plantation is gathered together. (…) The benches are pushed back to the wall when the formal meeting is over, and old and young, men and women (…) all stand up in the middle of the floor, and when the [spiritual] is struck up, begin first walking and by-and-by shuffling round, one after the other, in a ring. The foot is hardly taken form the floor, and the progression is mainly due to a jerking, hitching motion, which agitates the entire shouter, and soon brings out streams of perspiration." (REED 2003, 18).

Before the American Civil War, the African worship aesthetics penetrated the 'invisible black church'. Gradually, the approaches to worship changed as African-Americans more and more assumed denominational identities. In the North, black denominations would suppress these dramatic, emotional performances in order to attain a more structured and refined way of worship, while other dominations in the South would continue to stimulate these physical expressions of religious raptures.

4.3.2.2.2 Blues characteristics

The term 'blues' describes both a characteristic melancholy state of mind and the 8-, 12- and 32-bar harmonic progressions that form the basis for blues improvisation.[16] Most common is the 12 bar form. Important to this style is the 'blue note', which has an expressive function: it is the 3rd, 7th and sometimes 5th note on the tonic, sung or played at a pitch in-between major and minor scale (GROVE 2001, 3:730-736). Other significant features of the blues are the AAB verse structure (where B ends in a line that rhymes with the second A); a complex rhythm and syncopation; call-and-response, often between singer and instrument; the conversational "talking" of the guitar; buzzing timbres; blues tonality (based on the blues scale, which is pentatonic: it consists of five notes per octave); varied themes, often relating to mistreatment and hard times. (JACKSON 2003).

Blues singers and musicians expanded the expressive range of guitar, piano, harmonica and human voice and evolved many musical substructures within the framework of a recognizable and distinct form. Country blues performers also used a large variety of unusual instruments like washboards, fiddles, kazoos (small musical instrument that adds a buzzing timbral qualities to a player's voice when he or she hums into it) or mandolins. Sometimes certain particular techniques are employed, such as rasping or growling, to realize different qualities of timbre. The blues progression could be played in any key, though blues guitarists favoured E or A.

Since blues started as a music of the people, who were mostly illiterate, improvisation – both verbal and musical – was an essential part of it. The varying (bar) patterns evolved to facilitate improvisation. Although blues is folk music, many songs are "of genius and beauty, expressions of the human spirit that are both profoundly moving and complete in

[16] An explanation of the term 'harmonic progression' is provided in section 4.3.3.2.1.

themselves as creative works" (GROVE 2001, 3: 736). In its simplicity, sensuality, poetry, humour, irony, and resignation transmuted to aggressive declamation, blues mirrored the qualities an the attitude of African-Americans for three quarters of a century.

4.3.2.2.3 'Praise and Worship' sound features

As has been mentioned, the 'Praise and Worship' sound features will be discussed in more detail.

The charismatic structure of free-flowing praise, as practiced in Vineyard churches, had 'intimacy with God' as its desired objective. The progression is as follows: the first three or five songs (during the first two phases of invitation and engagement), are upbeat. They focus on the act of gathering to worship God. The third phase (exaltation) is filled with songs on the nature of God. People sing his attributes exaltedly ("Jesus is Lord", "God is good", "Great is the Lord and worthy of glory"). Then, at the fourth section, the music changes and softer and smoother sounds are performed. Mellower music invites worshippers to become aware of God's presence in adoration. (People may be seated at this point.) The fifth and last section is the quietest. It is the phase in which worshippers are closest to God. While in the songs of the first three phases the third person singular is often used, God is addressed personally during the adoration and intimacy section. As we have said, the personal relationship and the encounter with God are most important in this kind of charismatic worship. That is why songs often mention the senses and contain physical terms ("Touch me Lord Jesus", "Open the eyes of my heart, Lord", "I feel Jesus", "Hold me Lord, hold me tight, I beg of you"): they emphasize the intimacy with God.

The structure of the neo-Pentecostal free-flowing-praise starts, as we have indicated, "outside the camp". Rejoicing in the encounter with the Lord, that is about to take place, the songs are very energetic and upbeat. The singing of Psalm 100:4 ("Enter into his gates with thanksgiving, and into his courts with praise") is the sign for the second and third phase. By singing these songs, the worshippers celebrate God's greatness and offer him thanks for his goodness. The mood changes when the singing moves into the fourth phase – just as in the Vineyard structure – and finally reaches the Holy of Holies, where all attention is exclusively aimed at God, or Jesus, or the Holy Spirit.

4.3.3 European approach to sound

In this part of our thesis, we change our perspectives to focus on the European world. The way the concept of sound is perceived there is fundamentally different from what has been described so far, although globalization has also influenced and is still influencing European sound enormously. We shall first focus on the way Europeans generally approach sound (4.3.3.1). Among other things, we shall pay attention to sound theories by musicologists, philosophers and psychologists of music. Then we shall concentrate on the sound aspects that appear to be typical of European music (4.3.3.2). As the discipline of musicology originated in Europe (during the Enlightenment, compare GROVE ONLINE, entry: musicology), we will discuss some of the musicological terms that have already been mentioned in this section, rather than in the sections on African or African-American sound. These musicological terms are explained because we will need them to describe and analyse the sound of liturgy in the empirical part of our PhD study.

4.3.3.1 Sound in European culture

The differences between the African and the European world views, and the different ways of experiencing life and the human body, and the different approaches to religion associated therewith, are paralleled by the differences between West African and European music. We shall discuss the main differences here.

The European dualistic thinking manifests in music through the traditional division between the sacred and the secular. Religion in the European tradition is experienced as "rituals performed at appointed times and in designated spaces" (REED 2003, 1). Therefore sacred songs belong in the church, not on MTV. Likewise, the secular music that is heard outside the church, does not belong in the church's liturgy. The sacred and the secular do not converge: there is no unity in music.[17] I would like to elucidate this with a quotation of Teresa Reed. She explains the absence of unity in European music as follows:

> "In the West [Reed uses this term as a synonym for Europe, MK], music and the other arts are often approached as objects detached from human experience yet intended for human contemplation and consumption. (…) We speak of music as scores, pieces, cuts, tunes or tracks rather than in terms of the experience these aural objects afford. (…) We value precision in performance, and our musical notation leaves little room for variance. Our programs are timed, and our recorded music is measured for duration down to the second. Musical performance in the West is appropriate at designated times and in designated places (i.e., the symphony concert in the orchestra hall), and spatial boundaries separate its participants (i.e., the performer[s] on stage, the listeners in the audience)." (REED 2003, 3)

Reed's assessments of musical performance in the last sentence parallels her perception of the way religion is experienced. Her observations on the demarcation of time and place and the dissection of music into multiple parameters agree with Weman's view of the European approach to music. In the West

> "music is considered to be an expression of art; the concertgoer looks for relaxation, recreation, edification and enjoyment, while the artist, the choir or the orchestra in their music give us an experience which at best enriches our lives" (WEMAN 1960, 19).

As observed by these authors, the direction of the performing activity is one-way: from the stage to the audience. Daily life is not steeped in music making – at least, not for average people, that is those who are not professionally involved in musical performance, and the distance between performers and audience is permanent.

Both Reed and Weman observe that the traditional European approach to music is not characterized by a sense of unity: it is governed by divisions in categories, dissection of

[17] Things are changing though and we should reconsider our traditional divisions: in our time we see that Bach cantatas and Passions are performed at concerts and that pop music sometimes sounds in liturgical settings. I have contributed to the discussion concerning these traditional divisions in my master thesis on the meaning of so-called 'secular' music in Christian funeral liturgy. In this thesis I have pleaded for a broad approach to liturgical music, wherein both secular and sacred music have their place.

music into parameters, as well as divisions in specific times and places, division between performers and audience. We should, however, make two remarks about their observations.

The first one concerns the style of music Weman speaks about. Although he does not mention it himself, his assessment mainly applies to concerts of classical music. This is understandable, if one considers that he wrote his book in the late fifties of the 20th century. But what he could not have known at the time, is the fact that rock 'n roll (a style that was developed from the fifties onward) and other styles of pop music would soon conquer the world and effect a major change in our music culture. Weman's observations, although by no means outdated, today apply only to a minority segment of music. Even in the West, music is no longer seen as an expression of art only. It has become a part of our identity (group and individual). Far from being a mere 'enrichment' of life, it has become a way of life itself. Of course, classical concerts are still drawing audiences who act much as they used to, but today other styles demand and evoke different ways of acting. Just two examples will serve to clarify this.

A concertgoer attends a classical concert of a famous chamber orchestra. She enters the concert hall, takes a seat and waits for the members of the orchestra and the conductor to enter. Once they have seated and have tuned to pitch, everyone must be silent in anticipation of the first piece to start. Otherwise, the conductor will not raise the baton. Our concertgoer remains seated and will listen in silence for maybe an hour and a half, interrupted only by the interval. When the sounds of the last piece have faded away, all is silence again, preferably until the baton falls, but at least for a few seconds. Our visitor rises for a standing ovation because she has appreciated the concert (or just not to feel uncomfortable when her neighbours get to their feet). From beginning to end, the physical and mental distance between performers and audience persists.

To appreciate the difference, let us now look at a rock concert. When the rock fan and his friends enter the sports stadium, that for today has been transformed into a huge concert hall, hundreds of visitors are already present. They get some bottles of soft drinks and beer, and join the crowd. On stage, a support act is warming up the audience because it will be three quarters of an hour before the main act is ready. The music is loud, but our visitor and his friends start a conversation. They really have to yell to be able to hear each other. Then, countdown for the main event of the evening. The audience move, dance and sing along with the chorus of the song. On occasion, the singer of the band will invite the audience to sing along in response. Although there are seats at the side, most people will prefer to stand most of the time. The activity of the audience involves intensive participation: aside from singing along, they wave their arms, stamp their feet, and maybe some people will try crowd surfing. There is a spectacle going on and the concertgoers themselves become performers.

Our second remark concerns Reed's designated times and places. She is certainly right as far as musical performance is concerned: daily life is not steeped in music making, as it is in African cultures. Daily life of (especially West) Europeans ís steeped in music though. However, the activity lies not so much in the listening to music, as in the making of it. We shall further explain this on the basis of some features that characterize the 21st century European music culture.

First, post modern western music culture has become principally an *auditive culture*: we now hear music rather than make music ourselves. This process, that began with the invention of recorded sound, has made music more like a product than an activity. Second, the listening that we do in our music culture is often '*easy listening*': we do not always listen intensively to music, but often just hear it, or listen to as background music. Third, music is *omnipresent*: it is

heard always and everywhere, in fitness clubs, supermarkets and in the streets there is music. We have mp3-players (some still have discmans), and can listen to web radio on our cell phones if we like. Everyone can now listen to his or her favourite music, every day, all day long. Fourth, listening to music has more and more become an *individualised activity*. A trend that developments in the field of electronics have again contributed to. Fifth, we are now directly being exposed to the *sound picture* of music. This sound picture has taken the position of score image, through which music had been presented for centuries. Sixth, closer contact with the sound picture has made music *more accessible* to the general public (KLOMP 2005, 15-16).

As is the case with African music, European sound has in many ways been globalized. During the last century, Europeans have become acquainted with heaps of genres and styles. The sound of classical music and folk music has changed. Experimental music, minimal music, negro spirituals, blues, jazz, dixieland and bebop came to development. From the fifties onward, pop and rock music have been on the scene, genres which in turn have spawned house, funk and heavy metal, to name but a few. Globalization did and will produce a large variety of musical sounds.

4.3.3.2 European sound aspects

I would, once more, like to share a true story. It is about how I learned music. When I was seven years old, my mother sent me to our local music school, for elementary music education. The music class always took place in a musty smelling room, with carpet on the floor (imagine the marvellous acoustics of this room). In the corner, there were two pianos. When our music teacher called us in, we (that is, me and 25 other children of my age) were expected to seat ourselves around a very long table and listen quietly. Not to the piano or to other musical instruments, but to the music teacher. Every week we took out notebook, pencil and eraser, and after ten lessons, our notebooks were full of self-drawn notes, music examples, pitch names, staffs, note values, durations, beat points, etcetera. We knew everything about music and our parents were so proud!

But until then we had not touched a single instrument until that moment, except maybe for a woodblock and a triangle. However, with two instruments on 25 children, each child had only thirty seconds to 'play'. (Even less, if you were a bit shy and did not feel like pulling these things out of other children's hands). No way we were allowed to touch the piano. Only if we had behaved well, the music teacher would, at the end of class, sing a few songs with us and use the piano to accompany. Surely, we did some hand-clapping. Not to accompany the cheerful singing, but to learn that 'Am-ster-dam' and 'Scher-pen-zeel' each have three syllables whereas 'Arn-hem' and 'U-trecht' have two.

Later on, I learned how to play the organ. The exercises in my book each contained four measures; they were extremely boring. During my third year at the school of music, my teacher most of the time divided the pieces I had to study in two (or more) parts, because in his opinion I had to look at each individual motive. Moreover, he first let me study the right hand, and then the left hand, before allowing me to combine the two. These classes did not do any good to my motivation.

The way I 'learnt' music is characteristic of the way Europeans generally deal with making music. As Teresa Reed has aptly commented, Europeans often speak of music in terms of "scores, pieces, cuts, tunes and tracks" (REED 2003, 3). What we think is required in order to

be able to say something about music, is an analysis of aural objects, concentration on the structure of the piece, the knowledge of historically informed performance practice etcetera, more than and answer to the question about the way music is experienced.

Similar to the way I learned music theory, dancers and musicians who are trained in European institutions learn to concentrate on individual steps and parts, before combining them into finished performance piece. Even in the best performing ensembles, the whole piece is viewed in terms of technical or aesthetic qualities. An African performer would find this approach hard to understand, because the collective awareness, that soaks African society and binds African performers together, is not there. The European performance, done individually or by a group, is not really a shared experience. The social aspect of a performance remains less important than its technical of aesthetic aspects. Likewise, audiences in the West do not consider performing groups as social entities (GORLIN 2000, 11). Audiences, in commenting on performers, are likely to focus on their individual expressions and on their personal technical skills (or on the absence thereof). Europeans then see performers as individual, skilled professionals, who have been teamed up to stage a specific production, more than as members of a group or community.[18]

We shall now focus on some of the main European sound aspects. When in music history courses the term 'European music' is used, it will usually refer to the 'classical' tradition of 'Western Europe'. But Europe's music tradition includes more than just classical music and the continent is more than only its Western part. In addition to classical music, we can identify several other categories in European music, such as folk, religious/liturgical and popular music. It is important to realize that these categories exist only in people's minds, and are often based on implicit value judgments and hierarchical ways of thinking. Particularly the first two terms have unfortunate connotations. Classical refers to what is regarded the highest class of music. Classical music flourished where there were wealthy courts and aristocracies, which were mostly found in the West of Europe (MILLER 2006, 263). It will be no surprise that complexity and sophistication are favoured in this genre and that primarily this kind of music is studied in universities and conservatories (this situation is changing, though: nowadays popular music is also taught). For these reasons, classical music is often understood to be the equivalent of European music. Folk music refers to the music of peasants, with their folk tales and folk songs. This demographic concept, that distinguishes between folk and non-folk, implicates an evaluative hierarchy that places 'folk music' in a somewhat humble position relative to 'classical music'. This category was of course made up by the 'non-folk' advocates.

Apart from these classifications, we need to indicate some main features of European music. We do concentrate on Western European music, but pass over the other discussed distinctions and try to indicate some important characteristics.

Three factors have contributed to the cultural and musical unity of Europe (PORTER 2000, 5-6): *similar seasonal patterns* of summer agriculture and winter rest (which led to songs, based

[18] The emphasis on the individual performer may likewise be observed in certain recent television shows. In recent years, a variety of elimination contests has been broadcast to elect which is the funniest home video, who is the best pop singer (*Idiols*), which love couple has the strongest relationship (*Temptation Island*), who is the most popular occupant of a house, all supported by audience-interactive voting options. Even clergymen and -women are now engaging opponents in the competition for the best sermon (*Sermon of the year*). As I said: in Europe, performing is not a collective affair, it is an individual undertaking, in every respect.

on the cycle of the calendar – songs which are still sung at social gatherings and folk festivals); the almost universal *adoption of Christianity* (that influenced many aspects of life, including musical life); *literacy* (which led, by way of musical notation, to a spread of music throughout most parts of Europe). We just mention these factors here, a more detailed definition is outside our scope. More important now is to focus on some particular sound aspects of European music: harmony, melody and scales, timbre and musical instruments and music notation.

4.3.3.2.1 Harmony

Harmony is to the European musician what rhythm is to the African: the central organizing principle of the art (SMALL 1987, 25). Most of European classical music is based on harmony and its use is more highly developed in European/Western music than in any other.

The musical term 'harmony' refers to the combining of notes simultaneously, to produce chords, and successively, to produce chord progressions (GROVE 2001, 10:858-859). Harmony is sometimes referred to as the 'vertical' aspect of music. This is incorrect though, because restricting harmony to the vertical aspect does not take into account the (horizontal) chordal progression, which is a central category in the teaching of harmony.

A short introduction to the subject is required, given its central place in European classical music. We shall just indicate the basic aspects of harmony: the chord, chordal inversion, dissonance, constructional technique, note relationships and tonality/key (GROVE 2001, 10:858-862).

Current harmonic theory, which evolved gradually from the 16th and 18th centuries, is based on the idea that a *chord* – three or four notes that sound simultaneously – ought to be taken as primary, as an indivisible unit: a chord is, both in homophony and in polyphony, regarded as a primary element, rather than as an end-product. As a unit, it is a given entity. The music of Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750) is – notwithstanding the complexity of its polyphony – a prime example of music which is clearly based on (not regulated by) harmony (GROVE 2001, 10:859).

Every chord has a root note, which is the basis of the other notes and the centre of reference. The position of this root note may vary in a chord (this is called *chordal inversion*), without changing the harmony. The roots of the chords in progression represent the fundamental bass – an imaginary but useful construction which explains why a progression of chords can be perceived as a coherent sequence rather than as an arbitrary succession of individual chords.

Chords or harmonies are either considered stable (*consonant*, meaning 'sounding together') or unstable (*dissonant*, 'sounding badly'). Dissonant chords generate a tension that demands a resolution. The exact meaning of the concept 'dissonance' and the degrees of foreignness of notes in a chord varies between different musical styles. To understand what is considered dissonant and the rules that govern the treatment of dissonant intervals, chords and notes, is key in understanding any particular style.

Each chord has its own quality in a piece, a quality which is determined by the *relation* of this chord to the root note. In order to be able to specify the qualities of a chord in a certain piece, one needs to determine the function of that chord. Three different functions (main triads) are distinguished: tonic (indicated with I), subdominant (IV) and dominant (V). The *tonic* is the harmony everything revolves around. It is regarded a 'point of rest', because it is

based on the root note of the key and because most tonal music (music which hierarchical pitch relationships around a 'centre', or tonic) ends in a tonic. Moreover, during a piece, any cadence that ends in a tonic, is experienced as a point of rest. The *dominant* is the chord that aims at the tonic. The dominant has two main features. Firstly, the dominant always has a leading note, which is the seventh on the root. This seventh has a melodic function: it wants to ascend and resolve into the root of the key. Secondly, the dominant contains the fifth of the key, which tends to fall back on the root of the key. Besides a melodic function, the dominant also has a harmonic function. The dominant will seek for the tonic, the *subdominant* on the other hand turns away from the tonic: it moves away from the centre. Sometimes the subdominant IV is said to complete the harmonic relation of I and V. Tonic and dominant need a harmonic development to reach a conclusion; this process can be initiated by introducing the subdominant (often, not always, in the consequent phrase). These main triads occur in a certain order which represents the harmonic progression – compare our remark on the horizontal aspect of tonality. The most common chord progressions are based on the tonic, subdominant and dominant: in this order, the chords I-IV-V-I relate to each other in a tonally coherent way.

The term *tonality* is used in addition to the older term *key*. It is used to describe the arrangement of dominant and subdominant above and below the tonic. Tonality is usually associated with the idea of a given diatonic scale: a seven-note musical scale, comprising five whole-tone and two half-tone steps, in which the half tones are maximally separate. Two types of diatonic scales are distinguished: major and minor. Minor scales are considered less consonant and stable than major scales. Maybe this is the reason why minor scales are sometimes said to sound sadder than plain major scales.

4.3.3.2.2 Melody and scales

Strongly linked to harmony is the concept of melody. Melody is to be perceived as a single entity: "a series of musical notes arranged in succession, in a particular rhythmic pattern, to form a recognizable unit. Melody is a universal human phenomenon, traceable to pre-historic times. The origins of melodic thinking have been sought in language, in birdsong and other animal sounds, and in the crying and playing of young children." (GROVE ONLINE, entry: melody). Interesting within the scope of this Master Thesis is the definition of the physician and acoustician Helmholtz (1821-1894), who described melody as the *incarnation of motion in music*, expressed "in such a manner that the hearer may easily, clearly and certainly appreciate the character of that motion by immediate perception" (GROVE 2001, 16:364).

Melody often consists of one (or more) musical phrases or motifs and is usually and in various forms repeated throughout a song or musical piece. Musical phrases may also be described by their melodic motion, by their pitch(es) (or intervals between pitches), by their tension and release, continuity and coherence, cadence and shape. Melody is traditionally regarded as one of the three most important elements in European music (the other two are harmony and rhythm), although to say that these elements are independent, would be an oversimplification. As we said, in European music, melody is strongly dependent on harmony. "Harmony [in Western music, MK] often plays a fundamental role in determining the contour and direction of a melodic line, and the harmonic implications of a line of melody may accordingly give it life." (GROVE ONLINE, entry: melody). Melody has always been of primary importance from the time of medieval troubadours through the late Renaissance song composers, the composers of bel canto opera, up to the Classical period

and Romanticism, both in vocal and instrumental music. In many regions of Europe, melodies have been principally diatonic (based on scales with half and whole steps, see above). They are mainly tunes based on a narrow range (an ambitus of a fourth to a sixth), though in recent tunes the diatonic model expands over a wider range, to an octave or more (PORTER 2000, 9). Pentatonic melodies are also found, but these are scattered over the continent and mark regional or national identities.

European melodies are significantly different from African melodies. African music has no coordination of word-accent and melody-accent (WEMAN 1960, 152). In European music, word-accent and melody-accent are an issue, especially in classical and religious music. Generally, as regards the word-music relationship, two categories are distinguished: the one puts words and expression of text first, the other puts melody and melodic expression first (VERNOOIJ 2002, 108). In religious or liturgical music, the first categories is usually referred to as *cantus*: it is all singing that belongs to the ritual (sung responses, lectures, acclamations and prayers). This singing can be described as musically intoned speech, prayer, etcetera. *Cantus*, in general, does not require voice-training as it is intended to be sung by the pastor, the reader or the congregation. The second category, in which melody and melodic expression are emphasized, is called *musica*. This is, in fact, art music: it is characterized by melody, harmony, rhythm and dynamics. *Musica* is performed by trained musicians, such as a cantor, a choir and/or instrumentalists.

4.3.3.2.3 Rhythm

We take rhythm as the subdivision of a span of time into perceptible sections; the grouping of musical sounds, principally by means of duration and stress. In our section on African rhythm, we mentioned that the European time-scheme is based on a quantitative system of note values. In Western, and thus in European, music, time is usually "organized to establish a regular pulse, and by the subdivision of that pulse into regular groups. Such groups are commonly of two or three units (or their compounds, such as four or six); the arrangement of the pulse into groups is the metre of a composition, and the rate of pulses is its tempo" (GROVE ONLINE, entry: rhythm). This principle is significantly different from the African rhythmic system, which is based on different sound patterns, that are characterised by different internal relationships of their units.

The term rhythm is not to be confused with metre, which is "the organization of notes in a composition or passage, with respect to time, in such a way that regular pulse made up of beats can be perceived and the duration of each notes can be measured in terms of these beats. The beats are grouped into larger units, called bars or measures." (GROVE ONLINE, entry: metre). The easiest way to remember the difference between metre and rhythm is the time signature at the beginning of a composition: two figures, one above the other, the lower one indicating the unit of measurement and the upper one the number of such units in each bar.

In European music, two treatments of rhythm are traditional: metrical, as used in dance music, and non-metrical, as used in table songs (i.e. songs to entertain guests at table). During the nineteenth century, in the most parts of Europe, all metrical variety was reduced to duple or triple metres, due to the predominance of regular chordal harmonic rhythms, and the spread of certain dances (for instance, the waltz in 3/4 time, the polka in 2/4 time) and march rhythms. Mixed metres and variations occur, but they are practiced in only a few traditions in parts of Central and South eastern Europe (PORTER 2000, 10). However, artful

invention has been used to avoid monotonous rhythmic structures. In instrumental music, we find a variety of rhythmic artifice: syncopation (displacement of accent), shortened notes at strong parts of the bar, phrases not based on regular four- or eight-bar structures, merged or extended phrases. In vocal music, the natural rhythm of speech could be used as a basis (such as in recitative, where the rhythm may run counter to metric regularity). Some 20th century composers have avoided regular rhythmic patterns in order to attain more flexible rhythm, and sometimes rhythmic instructions have been refrained from altogether (GROVE ONLINE, entry: rhythm). However, no music can exist but in time, and therefore rhythm is a fundamental element of music.

4.3.3.2.4 Timbre and musical instruments

Timbre, or tone colour, is the term that describes the tonal quality of a sound. An oboe, a clarinet and a flute, when sounding the same note, produce different timbres, or tone qualities: "the flute's tone is relatively 'pure' (i.e. has few and weak harmonics), the oboe is rich in higher harmonics and the clarinet has a preponderance of odd-numbered harmonics. Their different harmonic spectra are caused primarily by the way the sound vibration is actuated (by the blowing of air across an edge with the flute, by the oboe's double reed and the clarinet's single reed) and by the shape of the tube. Where the player's lips are the vibrating agent, as with most brass instruments, the tube can be made to sound not its fundamental note but other harmonics by means of the player's lip pressure." (GROVE ONLINE, entry: acoustics).

Since the various musical instruments have different means of sound production, they have been classified on that basis. In 1914, the German Curt Sachs and the Austrian Erich Moritz von Hornbostel published a system of musical instrument classification that was based on the physical characteristics of sound-production and came to four groups: self-sounders (idiophones), membrane instruments (membranophones), string instruments (chordophones) and wind instruments (aerophones). This European system is still widely used, mainly by European/Western musicologists (GROVE ONLINE, entry: instruments, classification of).

Many of the musical instruments that are used in European music, can be found in symphony orchestras (sometimes called philharmonic orchestras). A symphony orchestra nowadays includes: violins, violas and cellos, double basses, flutes, oboes, clarinets, bassoons, horns, trumpets, cornets, trombones, tuba and several percussion (GROVE ONLINE, entry: orchestra).

Other instruments that are found in European music are recorders, harpsichords, organs, saxophones, euphoniums (in Germany known as *Baryton* or *Tenorbasshorn*), electric versions of instruments (such as guitar, violin and cello) synthesizers, bagpipes, tambourines, accordions and mouth organs (PORTER 2000, 525-533). An instrument that is very popular in the Low Countries (the Netherlands and Belgium) is the carillon: a set of stationary bells, normally in a tower or on a high outdoor frame. The instrument is either played from a large keyboard (and pedal) by a carilloneur or operated by means of a pegged barrel or paper rolls.

4.3.3.2.5 Music notation

Classical music is an important part of the European shared cultural landscape. This is partly a result of Europe's widespread literacy, that has come with the invention of printing. Propagated through the imperial and princely courts, and supported by the rise of the urban bourgeoisie from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries, urbanization, industrialization and through the political organization that came with the rise of nation-states, literacy influenced the spread of musical notation and musical literacy (PORTER 2000, 6). Music in a shared notation was transferred to other countries, a development that led to a shared musical culture. The newest music from Germany, for example, would soon become known in countries like England and Italy, and even become part of their musical cultures. This common notation dated from the thirteenth century and gradually developed to our current system, which has means to represent many aspects of pieces and songs as regards rhythm, metre, dynamics, accents, phrases, and so on.

Although there are many aspects of notation that are imprecise (ornaments, expression markings, tempo, volume, rhythmic alteration and articulation), the use of a system of musical notation had a pervasive influence on the performance and the character of European music. Although folk musicians have not left written music, many traditional melodies found their way into printed collections that mostly served middle-class amateurs. The spread of these manuscripts most likely influenced the continuity of melodies throughout time and (European) space (PORTER 2000, 523-525).

4.4 Conclusions

We should be able to answer our third sub question by now: "What is sound and which qualities of sound play a part in the performance of liturgy?" We have seen that traditional definitions of music have in the course of time given way to a more open and inclusive definition: music is organized sound. Furthermore, musical sound is seen as a process that breathes movement, both by the way sounds are linked and relate to each other, and by the way they are produced. Music is thus considered an act (compare the re-invented verb 'musicking'), more than a fixed piece. Music shares this performance character with liturgy.

The qualities that pertain to the actual performance of music, are manifold and diverse. Among others, we distinguish: (1) several physical relations to sounds, such as sensation; sensory perception; listening; performing; visualization; creation and memorizing, (2) various sound affects, such as feelings; emotions and moods, (3) musicological qualities, derived from classical parameters as rhythm/beat; pitch; form; metre; tempo and harmony, and other features, like instrumentation; silence; acoustics; timbre; loudness (dynamics); tuning (ambitus) and musical or non-musical (intended or non-intended) sounds. The (degree of) presence or absence of these qualities will differ, according to the cultural settings in which sounds occur.

The approach of West African sound shows a set of significant qualities: sound is an integral and essential part of every day life; rhythm is the central 'organizing principle' of sound; musicians create rhythms that are often asymmetrical and interlock with those of other performers in a very precise way; everyone is assumed to be musical and contributes to the communal work of music making; improvisation is widespread and richly developed; music and dance are inextricably bound up; timbre is much appreciated and admired in music; key soloists are expected to improvise against the background of a rich and layered

backdrop; continuity in music performance builds through the density of many discrete parts.

The musical tendencies of African-American sound, the underlying beliefs and assumptions and interpretative strategies are based on these African qualities, but are influenced by European music(king) traditions as well. From these roots, the typical blues sound evolved, a musical style that has had a major influence over later Western popular styles, both inside and outside the church. Praise and worship music has its roots here.

Important qualities in the European attitude to sound are an analytical, 'objective' and auditive approach to music, easy and individualised listening, omnipresence of musical sound, direct contact with the sound picture. European musical sound is mainly based on harmony, melodies are often harmonically dependent, music notation determines the performance of a piece to a high degree. Thus, we see that a range of qualities determines different sounds.

Chapter 5 <u>The sound of liturgy</u>

5.1 Introduction

In the preceding chapters, we have begun to explore our field of our study. We explained the unity of our research subject in chapter one and went on investigating each of its significant notions – liturgy, performance and sound – in the chapters two, three and four. In the discussion of these notions, we brought in African and European backgrounds, and did so with an eye to the empirical part of our PhD study, for which this thesis serves as a theoretical basis. Now that we have come to our final chapter, we shall discuss our fourth and last sub question: "How do the notions of sound, performance and liturgy together form a unity?" We shall deal with this sub question, while summarizing the preceding chapters. At the same time, we draw a provisional map of the field (5.2). After that, we shall formulate an answer to the research question of this Master Thesis: "Which anthropological and theological aspects determine the role of sound in the performance of liturgy and in what ways do they achieve this?" (5.3).

5.2 A provisional map of the field

In chapter one, we indicated the oneness of our research subject and tried to make clear that sound, performance and liturgy are three significant notions which are – even though we might not always experience them as a unity – mutually related. This led to several sub questions, which were discussed in the chapters that followed. In order to answer our research question, we need to review these sub questions once more.

Chapter two discussed the first sub question, that read: "Which concepts appear to be important to the conception of liturgy in a post modern, 21st century, European society?" From an anthropological perspective, we could say that liturgy is a Christian ritual. The question on the own, peculiar character of this ritual, can be answered from a theological viewpoint. As we have seen, the theological concept of *incarnation* is very well able to relate the theology and anthropology of liturgy to each other. It connects our human body – with and in all its cultural, social, ecological, historical, corporeal and contemporary manifestations, dimensions, forms and aspects – to the body of Christ, who is the Word who was made flesh and lived among us. In liturgy, we remember and celebrate his incarnation, and do so by our fleshly 'encodings': our world view, our experience of life and, our experience of the sacred. These encodings vary from time to time and from place to place: as we discovered, Africans and Europeans are very different at this point. If liturgy is incarnational, it takes our encodings into account. Performing the ritual in isolation of the setting hinders the appropriation of values and meanings.

The concept of incarnation also makes clear that liturgy has *sacramental* and *eschatological* dimensions. We can imagine God in human shape, because God himself took shape, because he became the Word and became flesh; and we search for God's image – in liturgy, in the visual arts, in music, etcetera – and we portray it, as a 'visible invisible reality'. This portrayal is sacramental: it is a form in which the encounter with the Eternal One takes shape. But this portrayal remains in flux between on the one hand the risk of completion of the image, the autonomy of the portrayed and idolatry, on the other hand the risk of erasure

of the image, the dissolving of the contours into the All or Nothing of mysticism. Liturgy, nor the arts, realize the eschaton in the future: our portrayal remains a 'visible invisible reality'. That is why we came to the hypothesis that the eschatological dimension of incarnational liturgy pre-eminently manifests itself in the sound aspect of liturgy, because sound is present, temporary and points ahead at the same time.

In chapter three we discussed our second sub question: "What is performance and which performance aspects are important in liturgy?" It appeared that the origin of the concept of performance lies in the completion of an act, a living through an experience. We gained an insight into several similarities and differences between liturgy and theatre. On a theological level, we discerned that performance is related to liturgy through the *anamnesis*: we actively remember God's deeds in liturgy, our performance lies in a creative retrospection, in which meanings and values are ascribed to events and deeds, with an eye to the future.

As we have seen, the body is very important in liturgy, since we can only take part in liturgy through our body. Clearly our perception of the body (and of corporality in general), influences the way we corporally perform liturgy. As motion is a very important aspect of performance, we focused on the body and body motion. This focus is specifically important in relation to sound, since the act of body movement in liturgy is often, if not always, accompanied by sound. We discovered how the body is perceived in African and European cultures, an issue that is closely related to the way life and the world are experienced in these cultures – a way that partly constitutes their fleshly 'encodings'. Rhythm appeared to be the crucial term in African body motion (mark the abundantly clear connection with sound). Life is danced and rhythm obviously influences the African way of celebrating worship: liturgy is danced as well. To shut out dance from liturgy would be alien and unnatural in the African synthetic and holistic world view. To include dance in liturgy would, on the other hand, be provocative in the eyes of many Europeans, who are raised in a tradition that has predominantly distrusted the human body. The encodings of human beings take place in their body and are expressed through body motion. We have come to understand that the body is of great importance to the way incarnational liturgy is performed (either exuberantly or stiffly or otherwise).

Chapter four examined the third sub question: "What is sound and which qualities of sound play a part in the performance of liturgy?" The first section described how the 'traditional' definition of music in recent times have given way to a more open and inclusive one: music is organized sound. Musical sound is seen as a process that breathes movement, both by the way sounds are linked and relate to each other, and by the way they are produced. This movement refers to music as an act. Musicologists have not, as we have seen, let this performance aspect of music go unnoticed, witness the fact that the term 'musicking' has been reinvented to indicate the (various types of) human involvement in the realization of music. In this realization, different qualities may be present. Our search of possible musical qualities yielded a diverse range: (1) several physical relations to sounds, such as sensation; perception; listening; performing; visualization; creation and memorizing, (2) various sound affects, such as feelings; emotions and moods, (3) musicological qualities, derived from classical parameters as rhythm/beat; pitch; form; metre; tempo and harmony, and other features, like instrumentation; silence; acoustics; timbre; loudness (dynamics); tuning (ambitus) and musical or non-musical (intended or non-intended) sounds. The (degree of) presence or absence of these qualities will differ, according to the cultural settings in which sounds occur. As chapter four indicated, the approach to sound in West Africa is different

from the African-American and the European. These different approaches to sound obviously are connected with different ways of performance and different sound qualities. The mutual relation between the approach to sound, aspects of sound and performance differs, depending on culture. But they have a point in common: all sounds are dependent on acting. Music shares this performance character with liturgy – which once more confirms the unity of our research subject.

This final chapter has to answer sub question four: "How do the notions of sound, performance and liturgy together form a unity?" As we have attempted to demonstrate, each of these aspects is closely connected to the other two. We shall once again summarize concisely how they relate.

From what we have investigated, we can conclude that the notion of sound is dependent on performance. Sound must be performed: without performance, without any (intended or non-intended) action, there is no sound. Sound is closely connected to liturgy, because soundless liturgy does not exist. Even the most silent liturgical celebration sounds, one way or the other: whether it is by speech, or by breathing, by changing position or by the shuffling sound of feet when people enter the place of worship. In fact, moments of complete silence can be described as the total absence or articulation of sound. The question why different liturgies have different sounds, can be explained by the theological concept of incarnation. Christian ritual cannot retain its identity by disregarding culture: liturgy is always incarnate in a particular culture. Incarnational liturgy is the embodiment of a context (including its sounds); liturgy's shape is variable and culturally influenced, since we celebrate liturgy by our fleshly 'encodings' (which – besides our sounds – include our world view, our experience of life, etcetera). The incarnation of the Word, Christ's pitching tent with us, is thus expressed in the cultural shape of liturgical sound. This expression has sacramental and eschatological dimensions: liturgy is an intangible encounter with God. Music might be pre-eminently suitable to express this eschatological dimension, for it commutes between completion and erasure of the image of God. The liturgical expression is performed, it is lived through. Without this performance, liturgy does not exist. Liturgy does not occur when one reads the order and texts from a booklet. It depends on human acting, on body motion; what is more, ritual itself is actually a pattern of action. The corporeal aspect of liturgy and liturgy's incarnational character are connected, just as liturgical sound is. The corporeal aspect of sound is made manifest through the body movement, ensuing from performance. Thus, we can say that sound, performance and liturgy are inextricably bound up with each other.

5.3 Theology and anthropology of liturgy: perspectives on one topic

Now that we have reviewed and answered our sub questions, we should be able to formulate an answer to the research question of this Master Thesis, which read as follows: "Which anthropological and theological aspects determine the role of sound in the performance of liturgy and in what ways do they achieve this?" On the basis of the above, we can formulate a concise answer: *Liturgy is constituted by sound, which is performed by means of corporeality and (body) motion. These aspects connect liturgy's anthropological notion of performance and its theological notion of incarnation.*

It thus becomes clear that anthropology and theology are two perspectives on one topic. While each taking a different starting point, they both shed their own light on the sound of

liturgy. But both can adequately explain the unity of our three notions. The fact that the sound of liturgy is dependent on (body) motion and corporality can be related to and explained from both the anthropological concept of performance, and the theological concept of incarnation. Neither of these viewpoints excludes the other perspective: anthropology and theology are complementary. Their complementarity is aptly reflected in an expression of the African theologian François Kabasele Lumbala. We would like to conclude our literature research by quoting him:

> "Insofar as God is at the origin of every human step toward God, the liturgy is inspired by God; but its exercise concerns the rhythm of life in the present, the rhythm of the human, in its bodiliness and its signifying activity of giving meaning." (KABASELE LUMBALA 1998, 25).

Appendix African musical instruments

This appendix lists some of the most important African musical instruments. The instruments are not only from West Africa, but from the whole African continent. Although we investigate West African sound in this thesis, a broad view of African instruments is important, since West African musicians use imported instruments, beside their indigenous ones. [19]

Arched harp



This instrument has strings stretched between a stout wooden sound-box covered with a skin (topped with a carved figure) and an arched branch of wood fitted with small tuning pegs. The ten strings (two sets of five that are an octave apart) are plucked with the fingers of both hands.

The bowed harps are still very common and are made in countless versions with strings varying in number from three to four to five to eight to ten. They are found throughout Africa.

Balafon



A balafon is the traditional xylophone of the Beti people of Cameroon (West Africa). This instrument is made of wooden keys with natural gourds as resonators. Balafons are often being played together, in ensembles which consist of four to six instruments, each having its individual temperament and functional name.

Balafon music is soft and soothing. It creates a peaceful atmosphere for relaxation and meditation, but it can also be vibrant and dynamic for big community celebrations. The music reflects the rhythmic and melodic patterns of the Beti language. Songs are often accompanied by balafons.

[19] Information and images are from www.noahafromusic.com/ music.html and http://www.cartage.org.lb/en/themes/Arts/music/instruments/minstrumentafr/minstrumafri.htm

Djembe



The djembe, an important percussion instrument that originally stems from West Africa, is famous worldwide. It is made of wood, with a goat skin cover, which is tightened by strings and played with the bare hands. Its rhythms are both therapeutic and invigorating, and are said to incite everyone to dance.

Double Gong



The double gong is, as its name betrays, made out of two metal gongs. These gongs have their individual sounds, one low and one high. The double gong is played with a wooden stick.

Double Pit Xylophone



The keys, or wooden slats, of xylophones are often fitted with resonators to amplify the tones. The resonator can take the shape of small separate devices or it can be a common sound-box or even a pit dug into the ground, as here in the picture. Composed of two instruments, this is doubtless the largest xylophone of its type in the world. The longest keys are huge beams measuring 1,8 meters. The keyboard of the big instrument is always divided into two sections: one to the left of the musician who is seated between them, resting his legs in the pit which acts as a resonator. The keys lie parallel to one another over and across the pit, which is about 70 centimetres deep and almost two meters wide. The musician strikes the left-hand keys (the bass) with a club of fairly soft wood and the right-hand keys with a heavy crooked beater made of extremely hard wood. The keyboard of the small instrument is set above another shallower pit. Its role is to provide a melodic and rhythmic ostinato as a cue for the main xylophone which renders the different themes designed to persuade each deity to dance at the ceremonies for the voodoo. A pair of rattles and an iron bell always complete a performance on the double xylophone, which often accompanies songs.

Harp lute



Although the kora and the soron, the impressive harp-lutes played in the Ivory Coast, Senegal, Gambia, Guinea and southern Mali, have plucked strings, they differ greatly in structure from the harp proper. These instruments are composed of a large hemispherical sound-box of gourd, crossed by a long and straight cylindrical neck, the lower end of which extends beyond the base and serves as the string-holder. All the strings, which are made of ox tendon (21 in the kora, 19 in the soron), are fastened round the wooden neck with plaited leather rings that can be slid up and down for tuning. A large notched bridge, standing upright in the centre of the sound-table, raises the strings and maintains them in two parallel rows. The player holds the instrument opposite himself, so as to be able to pluck the strings between the bridge and the neck with the thumb and forefinger. The soron harp-lute is the instrument used by professional musicians (the griots, compare section 4.3.1.1 on the role of sound in West African culture). Like the kora, the soron is played either in solo performance or to accompany songs of praise.

Lamellophone



Africa is the homeland of a peculiar plucked lamellophone. It makes enchanting and soft music. The lamellophone is composed of a series of flexible tongues of uneven length, made of metal or bamboo, fixed to a wooden plate or trapezoid sound-box. The musician holds the instrument in both hands and uses both thumbs to pluck the slightly upturned free end of the lamellae. These vary in material, number and arrangement with the regional style of making and playing. In the Central African Republic, the sanza is usually played as a solo instrument to relieve a traveller's solitary trek or the night caretaker's long watch. Elsewhere, the instrument accompanies a male repertoire of 'songs for thought', or laments.

Log Drum



This African drum, which is hollowed out of a whole tree trunk, is used for both music and communication. Played with two sticks, its powerful sounds can carry over ten miles (sixteen kilometres).

Musical bow



The musical bow, that looks like a hunting bow, is composed of a strongly-arched branch and a string, cut from a species of creeper. The string is stretched between the two ends of the branch and held in front of the half-open mouth. When struck with a thin stick, the string produces a fairly faint single note; to bring out another note, the player then touches it with a blade. The mouth cavity, acting as a natural resonator of varying shape and volume, amplifies and modulates the tones. The very earliest traces of the musical bow, which is regarded as the father of stringed instruments, or at any rate of the harp, may be those left in a cave engraving in Ariège (French Pyrenees), dating back more than 15.000 years. The engraving portrays a man dressed up as an animal, holding a bow in front of his face, in a position similar to that adopted by the musicians of the Central African Republic.

String instrument

Ancient harp from the South of Cameroon. It is made of a bamboo cane, strings and calabashes, which serve as resonators. Its exotic sounds are compelling. This string instrument used to accompany the recital and songs of the griot, the traditional African storyteller.

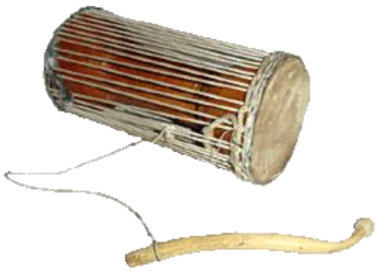


Shakers and sticks



Africans use many different types of shakers to 'musick'. These instruments mostly consist of natural fruits, pods and gourds with their seeds inside. These shakers are easy and fun to play and they come in useful for keeping the basic beat.
Sticks are made out of bamboo or wood. They are short and either flat or round. Sticks are used in pairs to enhance the beat in music and also for dancing.

Talking Drum



The talking drum is made of wood and has animal skins at both ends. There are strings in-between, that, when they are squeezed, pull the skins in order to vary the pitch of the sound.

Wooden trumpet



The use of wooden trumpets by the Banda people – an ethnic group of the Central African Republic – is closely linked to the ancestor cult and adolescent initiation rites. Traditional ensembles (as shown on the adjoining picture), now becoming few and far between, are also in demand for entertainment at official festivals, such as those commemorating the independence of the country. The orchestra numbers between twelve and twenty instruments of varying dimensions, each of which produces a single note.
The wooden trumpet ensemble is comprised of eighteen trumpets assembled as follows: six high-pitched trumpets made of antelope horn and side-blown (they sometimes have a finger-hole, whereby grace-notes can be obtained); ten more with a medium register hollowed out of tree roots (these have an end mouth-hole cut aslant, which means they must be played in a transversal position); and two low-pitched instruments, cut out of the trunks of the papaw tree, which are end-blown through a mouth-hole cut straight. Depending on the place and the purpose of each wooden trumpet in the ensemble, it plays its note at a set pitch to a rhythmic pattern defined within a very precise metrical framework. The very close interlocking of the individual trumpets within that framework, performed in quick tempo, creates a 'broken' polyphonic effect that calls to mind the hocket style.[20]

[20] Compare our explanation of hocketing in 4.3.1.2.

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